

The World Tomorrow

JULY, 1931

Gen. MacArthur Hits Refusal Of Clergymen to Bear Arms

Chief of Staff Declares Them "Law Violators
At Individual Pleasure," Sees Every
Criminal Heartened

GENERAL DENOUNCES
CLERGY'S WAR STANCE
MacArthur Calls Pacific
Exponents of Law-Break

Bible Sanctions War, Says Gen. MacArthur

Quotes Scripture
in His Answer

PACIFIST CLERGY HELD LAW BREAKERS

Army Chief Raps Clergymen
Opposed to Bearing Arms

Flayed by MacArthur

Attitude Declared
Disrespectful to
U. S. Law
Questionnaire Indicates Minister
Favor Violation, He Says—Along
With and Patriotism.

2 D. C. Pastors To Shun Arms

THE REV. JOSEPH
FLETCHER, pastor of the
Washington Cathedral, and
the Rev. W. E. Alexander,
pastor of Calvary Baptist
Church, were among the
clergy who refused to
participate in the
survey.

BOTH BARRELS

Fired At Ministry

For Attacks On America's
Weapons Of Defense.

Clergy Are Fomenting
State Of Anarchy

By Pacifistic Remarks,

19,000 PACIFIST CLERGY ANGER GEN. MACARTHUR

Chief of Staff 'Surprised' at
Finding So Many Christian
Pastors Opposed to War

Gen. MacArthur Assails Clergy For Pacifism

MACARTHUR ASSAILS
MINISTERS ON WAR

Chief of Staff in Letter to
Negative Editor of War
to Refuse to Bear Arms.

Assails Pastors Who
to Bear Arms

U. S. Clergymen
Are Scolded For
Stand On Arms

Gen. MacArthur
Assails Clergy
For Pacifism

Chief of Army Staff Assails
Preachers Are Repudiating
Law of the Land

Holds Stand Abets Crime

Defense of Right Is Terror
Christian in Open Letter

RE-REVERBERATIONS

on

The Clergy vs. War

Milwaukee and Socialism

B. CHARNEY VLADECK

An Evolutionist on the Bench

The Story of Justice Holmes

EXPOSURE OF THE
VIOLATION OF LAW
Infer Their Stand Is Do
To Fear For Per
sonal Safety

19,000 PACIFIST
CLERGY ANGER
GEN. MACARTHUR

MINISTERS FOR
LAWLESS ATTITUDE
GENERAL CHARGES

Refusal to Bear
Arms in Face of
War

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Are Scolded For
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Gen. MacArthur
Assails Clergy
For Pacifism

Washington Herald

MACARTHUR REBUKES
PACIFIST CLERGYMEN
Real Christians Are Those
Ready to Die For the Right,
General Says

CHICAGO HERALD

Scores Pastors
For Opposition
To Bearing Arms
Attack on Pacifists Stirs Capit
Gen. MacArthur's Criticism of Clergy
Discussed by Officials.

U. S. ARMY CHIEF HITS PACIFISTS AS CRIME AIDES

Chief of Staff Defends
Nationalism; Says Christ
Not Confict.
Clerics Set
for Criminals,
General Says.

TWENTY-FIVE CENTS A COPY

TWO DOLLARS A YEAR

The World Tomorrow

VOL. XIV

JULY, 1931

No. 7

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Published the first day of each month at 52 Vanderbilt Avenue,
New York, by THE WORLD TOMORROW, INC.

THE WORLD TOMORROW is on file in most public and college libraries and is indexed in the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature*.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: Single Copies, 25 cents; \$2 per year; Canada, \$2.25; foreign, \$2.50. Orders for copies, subscriptions and all correspondence should be sent to THE WORLD TOMORROW, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York City. British representative, Edgar Dunstan, 11 Lincoln's Inn Fields, London. Annual Subscription, 10s. post free. Entered as Second Class Matter, Sept. 30, 1926, at the Post Office of New York, under the act of March 3, 1879.

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Grace Abbott

An American Negro in Africa
Frank B. Lenz

War Resistance Old and New
Devere Allen

The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Religion of Jesus

Vol. XIV

July, 1931

No. 7

Editorials

Hoover's Moratorium

The action of President Hoover in declaring a moratorium of one year on German reparations and inter-Allied debts came none too soon. A few more weeks of economic pressure and Germany would probably have collapsed; and in that collapse the hope for a peaceful world would have perished. The action gives the whole of Europe a new lease on life. A moratorium of a year will not be sufficient to give Germany permanent relief or Europe certain security against social convulsion, but it is a good beginning. Despite the President's explicit disclaimers, the old American dogma that debts have nothing to do with reparations is dead. Inevitably this moratorium must lead to an economic conference looking to a general revision of war debts, and just as inevitably such a conference will draw the hitherto reluctant America into the circle of responsibility for any action which may be taken with respect to international financial obligations. Thus do stubborn facts negate and destroy official fictions and illusions.

The action of the President deserves recognition even though it can hardly be regarded as courageous. While American opinion on the whole was not ready for the move, the financial community, whose voice Mr. Hoover is bound to hear with peculiar sympathy, has become daily more unanimous in its insistence that something must be done to relieve the pressure on Germany. The fact that our own stock market reacted very favorably to the news of the moratorium proves that Mr. Hoover's step was not dictated purely by motives of compassion for the suffering Germans. Considering the amount of American investments in Germany, the rise of stocks and bonds on the Berlin exchange also has its significance. But the actions of nations are not and perhaps cannot be purely ethical. What is important in this instance is that America, in whose hands rested the economic fate of Europe without her people being fully conscious of the fact, did acknowledge her responsibility in the eleventh hour and has thereby been committed through the force of circumstances to a new international policy. If conditions had been less urgent, it is questionable whether such a

revolutionary change in policy would have been possible.

While France is naturally reluctant to accept the moratorium because through it she will lose over a hundred million dollars, it is difficult to believe that she will be able to wreck the plan. She cannot, after all, defy the sober judgment of the whole western world.

The most hopeful aspect of the proposed policy is the new atmosphere it creates for the Geneva disarmament conference next winter. Until President Hoover acted, that conference had the marks of futility upon it long before it convened. A harassed and disturbed Europe, in which German fascism was bound to aggravate French nationalism, would not have gone very far on the way to disarmament. It is quite possible that this latest development will create a new psychology in Europe which will provide a fighting chance for the success of the conference.

It will be well if the peace forces, which incidentally did not contribute as much as they might have to preparing American opinion for this inevitable action, decline to accept the new policy too complacently. Without a thorough revision of all the international war debts, there can be no permanent economic or political health in the western world. Educating public opinion at that point must remain one of the main responsibilities of all liberal political forces.

The Supreme Court and Pacifism

The Supreme Court decision excluding Professor Macintosh and Miss Bland from citizenship because of their pacifist convictions provides a nice problem for both religious organizations and individuals who oppose war on conscientious grounds. The decision sets a new mark in political absolutism, for it gives the state the right to interpret the "will of God" for the individual and declares that nothing, even freedom of thought and conscience, may interfere with the state's "duty of self-preservation." If this kind of logic is carried to its consistent conclusion, we will be back in the Middle Ages.

The question is what shall be done about it? Ob-

viously the first duty of the church is to work for a change in our naturalization laws which will bring them into conformity with the general law of the land, and eliminate the absurdity of discrimination between native-born and naturalized conscientious objectors. All religious organizations, whether or not they are committed to pacifism, ought to support such a movement for the implications of the Supreme Court decision destroy the moral integrity of every institution of the ideal which is not in complete conformity with the aims of the political state. Specifically, the friends of peace should get behind the Griffin Bill which proposes to add to the naturalization law the following clause:

Except that no person mentally, morally and otherwise qualified, shall be debarred from citizenship by reason of his or her religious views or philosophical opinions with respect to the lawfulness of war as a means of settling international disputes.

Similarly, it would be helpful if the thousands of individuals, who are citizens and who agree with the two excluded conscientious objectors, would join in a movement to bring this fact forcibly to the attention of the nation. The decision is far-reaching as well as dangerous to liberty, and every effort should be made to arouse the country on this question.

The fact that the decision came in conjunction with other liberal decisions—in the case of the latter Justice Roberts joining forces with liberal dissenters from the Macintosh decision—prompts some rather interesting speculations about the validity of a judicial system on which matters of such great import hang on so small a thread. We would like to know just what kind of logic, environmental influence, etc., persuaded Justice Roberts to desert his liberal colleagues on this Macintosh-Bland decision. But such curiosity is vain except as it calls attention to the fact that the American people are in the grip of a Supreme Court absolutism of increasingly dangerous proportions.

Freedom Slain in Ohio

Herbert Adolphus Miller is a professor of sociology at Ohio State University, or was. No member of the Ohio faculty is better known in this nation and in other lands. His students regard him as one of the ablest teachers on the faculty. He is an expert in inter-race relations, and his contributions in this field range from scholarly treatises to practical social engineering in local situations. Professor Miller, as any man of such a type, does not permit other people to think for him. Recently he led the faculty group which opposed compulsory military training at the university. For this crime the board of trustees of the university has dismissed him. It generously added to the charge of insubordination on the military training issue an indictment which grew out of Professor Miller's advocacy of Gandhi's cause in India. Evidently sympathy

with Gandhi belongs to the category of dangerous radicalism in Ohio.

Not for a long time have university trustees shown more cynical contempt for academic freedom. Students and alumni of Ohio State are protesting against the action; but it is doubtful whether their protests will move a board which has no more understanding of ordinary academic decencies than this group in Columbus.

Two particularly discouraging aspects of the situation were the reversal of the faculty, which first repudiated compulsory military training and then changed its vote after administration pressure had been exerted, and the support which President-emeritus W. O. Thompson gave the board in its action. The cravenness of the professors before official authority is a disquieting revelation of a limitation of character among many academics who are never asked to face real social problems and who therefore seldom develop the kind of moral stamina which is required in a crisis. The professors merely talk and fold up when the situation becomes dangerous. We do not suggest that all professors are cowards, but it is worth noting that moral irresponsibility is a peril which lurks in the academic atmosphere.

As for ex-president Thompson, he is a nationally recognized religious leader. Also he draws a ten-thousand-dollar-a-year emeritus salary from the board to which he gave such unqualified support when a precious academic and moral value might have been saved by his intervention. We make no conclusions in regard to the relation of his economic dependence upon the board and his action in this crisis, but if cynical readers wish to declare the one relevant to the other we shall interpose no objections.

The Pope's Encyclical on Labor

We do not agree with the Pope's conviction, as expressed in his encyclical on labor that it is impossible to be at once a Socialist and a Christian, and we derive some support for our dissent from the encyclical itself. Whatever its limitations, it shows a better understanding of the economic problem and speaks more plainly on the issues of our industrial civilization than do most of the pronouncements of Protestant denominations. Only the statements of such general bodies as the Federal Council of Churches here and the Copeck commission in England can be compared with it in the vigor of its criticism of the present industrial system with its extremes of poverty and wealth.

While the Pope asserts that private property has divine sanction (another example of the dangerous tendency of religion to give the relativities of history an absolute character), he appears to mean only that everyone shall have a right to own his own home, for in other sections of the encyclical he insists on the neces-

sity of abridging and abrogating the rights of private property in the general interest of society. So close does he come at this point to the Socialist creed that he is forced to admit a great similarity between his doctrine and that of Socialism. His final protest against Socialism would seem to mean no more, therefore, than the preservation of a traditional position. That does not make it any less dangerous, since the general effect of the Pope's pronouncements will be to place the church on the side of economic reaction, no matter how sharp his exhortation of the policy of our present economic overlords.

Pius XI believes that every workingman ought to have a wage which will make the purchase of his own home possible. How is he to secure such a wage? In answering this question, the encyclical betrays its greatest weakness. The Pope offers two suggestions. One is Catholic labor unions which, in a world where all workers are not Catholic, splits the unity of the labor ranks. The other suggestion is an appeal to Christian charity. We are altogether in favor of appropriating every religious and moral resource available for the solution of the economic problem. But history teaches that there is never enough pure charity in a privileged group to prompt it to the voluntary sacrifice of its advantage in favor of an underprivileged group.

Insofar as the Pope's program does not provide for the political realities, it must be added to the sentimental effusions which institutions of religion are altogether too prone to make. Economic and political groups may become ethical enough to yield power without resort to violence, but this side of the millennium they will not be ethical enough to yield it without constant pressure from below. Any program, Catholic or Protestant, religious or educational, that does not take this fact into consideration is unrealistic. Incidentally, it would be easy to change a few of the Pope's phrases and have, as a result, a statement on the economic problem of the kind that many modern educators make. They are as earnest about the power of education as the Pope is about the potency of Christian charity.

A Revolution in Diplomacy

The manner in which the dispute concerning the proposed Austro-German tariff union is being handled constitutes nothing less than revolution. Twenty years ago it would have been unthinkable for two great powers to submit for settlement by a "superstate" such a controversy, involving as it does "vital interest" and "national honor." In the decades prior to 1914 the nations of Europe were brought to the brink of war time after time by quarrels which were trivial, compared with this controversy that has now been referred by the Council of the League of Nations to the

World Court for an advisory opinion as to whether or not the proposed union is in violation of existing treaties. Not only have Germany and Austria consented to this procedure, they have also agreed to delay further action until the Court's opinion is available and, even more significant, until the Council has decided what course to follow.

Two other dangerous quarrels were also referred to the World Court for advisory opinions: concerning the status of Polish nationals in Danzig, and concerning the division of customs revenue in Memel. Both Danzig and Memel have constituted danger zones continuously since the Armistice, and it is highly significant that the Court is being called upon for opinions.

The magnitude of these victories for international law and order has not yet been fully grasped. The League and the Court have been enormously strengthened. The habit of conference is becoming more deeply ingrained and the expectation that even the most serious international disputes may be settled amicably is becoming more firmly established. Year by year it becomes more apparent that the League-Court-Labor Organization system of pacific machinery is absolutely essential to the preservation of world peace.

Yet timidity and uncertainty characterize the policy of the United States toward world organization. Opposition to our entrance into the World Court is intense, unreasoning and intolerant. The very suggestion of advisory opinions by this high tribunal throws some of our statesmen into a panic of fright. Only by determined and unyielding efforts will favorable action by the Senate be secured early in the next Congress before the whole matter gets entangled in the disarmament controversy.

As for the International Labor Organization, the Secretary of Labor became so alarmed by its imagined machinations that he canceled the permission which had been granted to Miss Mary Anderson, head of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, to attend its annual conference in an *unofficial* capacity, with the asinine observation: "Unofficial participation of the United States in the International Labor Conference would be impossible, it being an agency of the League of Nations by which it was created." With difficulty we restrain ourselves! Has the Secretary of Labor not seen the documentary evidence that more than 200 American citizens have been appointed by the Government of the United States to represent this country *officially* in various conferences held under the auspices of the League of Nations?

It is high time that American peace workers should cease to think in terms of partisan politics and should vigorously demand that this Government formulate and follow an intelligent and courageous foreign policy. Having agreed in the Briand-Kellogg Treaty never to seek the settlement of any international dis-

pute except by pacific means, this country should now coöperate in creating and strengthening the machinery of peace. To indulge in glittering generalities about our love of peace while blocking the way to effective international coöperation in behalf of peace is stupid if not criminal.

Economist or Engineer?

President Hoover's defense of his rugged individualism at Indianapolis and his uncompromising insistence that nothing can be done for unemployment by Government interference is open to a dozen refutations. We shall attempt just two—one on economic and the other on ethical and social grounds.

The President declares: "Not only must we refrain from robbing industry and capital and thereby increasing unemployment. . . ." etc. These few words reveal on what faulty economics his whole logic rests. If large resources of wealth in the hands of commerce and industry could avoid unemployment, we are at a loss to know just why this depression overtook us. The fact is that too much money has been forced into production in the last decade, and there has been too little for consumption. If the Republican party had not cut surtaxes every second year, we might never have had the stock market orgy which furnished the prelude to the economic disaster. From Mr. Hoover's analysis of our situation one would be forced to draw the conclusion that men are unemployed because poverty-stricken industry does not have enough money to get the productive process started again. That, of course, is a ridiculous conclusion in view of the actual facts.

On ethical grounds the President's position is equally weak because he does not seem to recognize that even if Governmental action might not improve the economic situation, it is necessary to guarantee human beings some measure of security in a time of economic disaster. Mr. Hoover still relies on private charity to meet the kind of social situation which the country faces next winter. Anyone who has the slightest understanding of the social history of the industrial nations during the last decades must know how vain and futile is such confidence. There is not enough resource of human imagination to prompt comfortable people to give the proportion of their income which they ought to give for the alleviation of the suffering of the unemployed. Only legislative action can meet the desperate situation ahead of us; and it is ridiculous that a man in the White House who has won world fame as a humanitarian should be the chief obstacle to a realization of the necessity for proper governmental aid for the unemployed.

As for Hoover's plan for the next twenty years, the only thing relevant to the real facts in it is his belief that our population will increase considerably during that period. His hope of building a completely self-

sufficing nation in a world which is growing daily more interdependent shows the measure of his political intelligence. The absurdity of his reasoning is best illustrated by his assumption that a twenty per cent increase in population will mean that our farmers will grow twenty per cent more food products. As if we were not living in a world in which other nations are destroying the very export market upon which our farmers are partially dependent! As an economist Mr. Hoover is a great engineer.

A Vigorous Peace Program

Threescore representatives of various peace organizations have just published a joint statement of objectives and program in relation to the World Disarmament Conference to be held in Geneva next February. The most significant items in this document are the demand for *drastic reduction* of land, naval, and air forces, and not mere limitation at existing levels; not only the *limitation* of expenditures for armaments but also a *drastic cut* in budgets such as 10 per cent a year for five years; the abolition of submarines and all battleships and other surface war vessels over 10,000 tons; the prohibition of poison gas and germ warfare; the acceptance by the United States of a consultative pact supplementing the Briand-Kellogg Treaty, and the early ratification of the World Court Protocols.

That this statement is likely to be the basis of a peace campaign to be waged throughout this country during the next six months is indicated by the wide variety of peace organizations represented in the personnel of the signatories. Among the persons who signed in their individual capacities are officials of the following societies or organizations: Federal Council of Churches, Foreign Policy Association, National Council for Prevention of War, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, National Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, World Peace Foundation, American Friends Service Committee, World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Women's Peace Society, Institute of International Relations, World Peace Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Department of Christian Social Service of the Protestant Episcopal Church, National Council of Congregational Churches, Committee on International Peace of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, League for Independent Political Action, National Council of the Y. M. C. A., National Board of the Y. W. C. A., American Unitarian Association, National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, War Resisters' League, Council of Women for Home Missions, National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, National Committee on the Churches and World Peace, Fellowship of Reconciliation, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's

Clubs, Committee on Militarism in Education, National Council of Jewish Women, National Student Federation, Council of Christian Associations.

Among the most widely known signatories are Alan B. Houghton, John Dewey, James T. Shotwell, James G. McDonald, Sidney L. Gulick, Frederick J. Libby, Sidney E. Goldstein, Fred B. Smith, Raymond T. Rich, John Nevin Sayre, Mrs. Robert E. Speer, Mary E. Woolley.

It is encouraging that so advanced a program is being supported by such influential individuals and groups. Even so, there is room for doubt as to the adequacy of this coöperative enterprise. Deep gloom as to the outcome of the disarmament conference pervades all Europe. Fears are intense and enmities are bitter. The people of the United States in turn are suspicious of their overseas neighbors and are reluctant to recognize the need for vigorous and daring coöperation with other nations. The Administration at Washington has not been characterized by an excess of imagination and courage. The line of least resistance will be to rest content with an international agreement not to increase armaments.

The odds are decidedly against the peace forces of the world. This fact may be either an occasion for despair and paralysis, or it may serve as a challenge to intelligent and heroic endeavor. The course of history has often been changed by the triumph of valiant minorities who refused to be enervated by apparent proof of their impotency.

University Degrees

Universities are very solemn institutions, but they betray nice bits of unconscious humor when June comes along and honorary degrees are passed around among the great and the near great. Some of the degrees represent deserved recognition of solid achievement in the various arts and sciences. Others are merely a decorous way which the university has of expressing a lively anticipation of future favors. St. Lawrence University made Secretary Mellon and his brother, Richard, LL.D's. The greatest secretary since Hamilton has thus received his steenth academic hood. Drake University made a hotel owner, who bears the name of Drake but is otherwise not related to the institution, a Doctor of Laws. Perhaps it hoped that affinity in nomenclature plus the degree would provide the right combination for filling the university treasury with new money. Lehigh University probably deserves the prize for absurdity in granting Mr. H. L. Doherty, the public utilities magnate, an LL.D. New York University gave a doctorate to George F. Baker. Mr. Baker is an eminent banker, but why didn't the university think of him before his father died and left him one of the greatest fortunes in America? Oglethorpe University granted the degree of Doctor of Literature to Dorothy Dix. We can

detect no ulterior motive in this award and criticize the judgment of the university only upon our possibly biased belief that advice to the lovelorn is not literature. The same university made Harold McCormick of the International Harvester Company an S.C.D. Cecil De Mille of movie fame received a Lit. D. from Pennsylvania Military College. A military college awarding a degree for merit in literature is analogous to a butcher's convention giving a medal for the finest water color painting of the year.

And so the story goes. These university presidents regard themselves as subtle politicians, but they are pretty obvious after all.

A Mule That Kicks Both Ways

That income taxes in the higher brackets should be reduced was the contention advanced by Secretary Mellon in a recent statement. This successor to Hamilton pointed out that there are only two and a half million individuals and one-quarter million corporations in the United States who pay any income tax whatever. This fact was used to support the argument that steeply graduated income taxes constitute class legislation and during periods of depression serve to kill the mythical goose.

Mr. Mellon's figures, however, are subject to another interpretation. Why are there so few income tax payers in this country? The law requires every resident to file a return if as an unmarried man his income reaches \$1,500 per year, and if as a man with a wife or family the amount is \$3,500 annually. Yet out of some 70 million persons who have reached the age of twenty-one, less than four per cent earn enough to qualify as income tax payers. Secretary Mellon calls attention to the fact that 380,000 individuals—just over one-half of one per cent of the 70 million persons—pay about 97 per cent of the total amount paid in income taxes. One-half of one per cent pay 97 per cent! Why? Illumination is shed by the estimate of the National City Bank that the profits of 1,509 American corporations increased from 4,731 million dollars in 1927 to 5,806 millions in 1928 and to 6,509 millions in 1929—an increase of 39 per cent during the latter two years. These huge profits represented the cream skimmed off the increased technological efficiency of industry. The investors, not the workers and consumers, have been the primary beneficiaries of the scientific advances in industry. This extreme concentration of savings has on the one hand glutted the investment markets, and on the other has suppressed the purchasing power of the workers.

The need for a more equitable distribution of the proceeds of industry is obvious. Taxation is a constitutional and highly effective device for accelerating the redistribution of wealth and income. And so to our Congressmen we cry, Lay on Macduff!

A Seven Per Cent War

SEYMOUR WALDMAN

THE extent to which the War Department has gone in its program to militarize industry was clearly brought out in the first series of hearings before the joint cabinet-congressional commission created under the Snell resolution "to study and consider amending the Constitution of the United States to provide that private property may be taken by Congress for public use during war and methods of equalizing the burdens and to remove the profits of war, together with a study of policies to be pursued in event of war." It was also apparent that what was generally expected to be a discussion of how to equalize the burdens of war had degenerated into the "War Policies Commission."

However, the military faction, represented by the commission chairman, Secretary of War Hurley, failed to prevent the airing of its startling "Plan for Industrial Mobilization" by a member of the commission, Congressman Ross A. Collins of Mississippi. It was revealed:

THAT the War Department's plan for industrial mobilization provides for the "control of labor migrations" and "control of the price of labor." This, Congressman Collins, during a commission hearing, termed a conscription of labor.

THAT the War Department thus far has commissioned 14,000 industrialists throughout the country as reserve officers (a procedure it calls "contacting" industry), has made an intensive study of the production capacities of 10,000 factories, and has endowed thousands of factories with blank war-time contracts.

THAT the War Department in its industrial mobilization plan has drawn a draft bill, entitled "A Bill Covering the Details Essential in a Drafting of Man Power," which authorizes the President in war-time to conscript *all* male citizens and those who shall have declared their intention to become citizens *without respect to occupation*. This plan, Congressman Collins also attacked as a conscription of labor.

THAT should this industrial mobilization plan be completed, unopposed, it will place the army in such potential control of industry as to take over the country's plants, factories, fields, and transportation systems in the shortest possible time in case of what the War Department designates "a national emergency declared by Congress to exist, which in the judgment of the President demands the immediate increase of the armed forces of the United States."

THAT Representative L. H. Hadley, of Washington, presumably representing the military faction, proposed in a secret session called by Secretary Hurley

immediately after the first hearing, that the remarks of Congressman Collins "be expunged from the record and that hereafter his remarks be not transcribed on the record"!

THAT Congressman Collins then moved that the commission put Mr. Hadley's "censorship resolution in writing," after which he, Mr. Collins, would resign.

THAT the Hurley crowd saw the light and beat a hasty retreat.

THAT the majority of the commission have no intention of recommending any form of conscription of capital in war-time, much less a procedure which would necessarily repeal the "just compensation" clause of the Fifth Amendment.

THAT Ralph T. O'Neil, the National Commander of the American Legion, the rank and file of which organization since 1922 have been demanding that "dollars as well as men be drafted" in the event of war, considers a return on property of seven per cent during war-time "about right"!

THAT the commission is paying its secretary, Robert H. Montgomery, a Colonel of the Officers' Reserve \$750 a month—he was proposed by Mr. Hurley after the latter's first choice, General Van Horn Moseley, was rejected by the commission—when the resolution which created the body states that "all necessary office and clerical assistance" shall be supplied by the Secretary of War.

THAT Bernard M. Baruch, former Chairman of the War Industries Board, after warning the War Department that "we must neither militarize industry nor industrialize the army," was asked by Secretary Hurley at one of the hearings whether he approved the War Department's plan for the mobilization of industry, though he had only been sent an innocent chart called "Functional Control of Labor in War" instead of the entire 178-page mobilization plan. After this discrepancy was pointed out by Mr. Collins, Mr. Hurley blandly stated that "the plan was not yet approved by the War Department." It is significant that Mr. Baruch has recently asked the commission for another opportunity to be heard.

SINCE Congress under the Fifth Amendment may now take private property for public use during war provided "just compensation" is given, the resolution can only mean the taking of private property in time of war without or with something less than what the courts have considered "just compensation." Nothing, however, is further from the minds of most of the commission, as was clearly evident in the

course of the hearings. On several occasions Representative Hadley of Washington emerged from soporific vacuity to remind the witness that the latter of course understood that what the commission was considering was the elimination of war profits, that is, those profits above the usual peace-time ones. Several notables indeed took pains to reiterate that profits should not be assaulted in time of war. With refreshing lucidity Daniel Willard, President of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, informed the commission that he was "opposed to taking profits out of war since business is entitled to a reasonable profit in war or peace or at any other time." Howard E. Coffin, member of the Naval Consulting Board and Chairman of the Aircraft Board during 1917-18, smilingly said, "I assume that none of us are contemplating taking the profits out of war," while Congressman McSwain of South Carolina in discussing the resolution with me remarked: "Young men, you know you can't paralyze business in a workable world." Even Mr. Baruch—his pamphlet, *Taking the Profit Out of War*, proposes a freezing of prices by presidential ukase at a normal level at the declaration of war and offers important reasons for opposition to "a militarization of industry or an industrialization of the army"—advocates not a substantial financial sacrifice on the part of the capital, not a snuffing out of profits, but "war profits at a lower rate than peace profits." Evidently the reduction is intended to console the poor devil with a bullet in his groin or a vesicant gas in his skin tissue.

THE conflicting testimony—excepting that involving profits—showed that the real purpose of the resolution had either been ignored or had not been made clear. Colonel Charles B. Robbins, former Assistant Secretary of War, proposed that the War Department should know "where every man is and what he is doing." With cherubic naïveté, Rear Admiral McGowan, former Naval Paymaster, proposed to "amend the Constitution so that before war can be declared or participated in (except in the event of an attack or invasion), there must be a referendum." There only remains the task of finding a government that ever waged anything but a "defensive" war. Brigadier General John R. Delafield thought the Admiral's suggestion impossible and unnecessary. With the puerile disregard of history that only a general is capable of, he advocated complete arming as the best way of preventing war. Newton D. Baker, former Secretary of War, thought the Snell resolution unwise in that "war is largely a matter of improvisation," disapproved of a capital levy as a means of financing a war and considered any legislation precluding exemption from universal draft based on industrial occupation as "unfortunate." After stating that he had spent all of his leisure time since 1921 thinking of a way to prevent war, Mr. Baker testified, "I don't

know of any great profits made during the last war. . . . Large profits have no tendency towards popularizing war. . . . There isn't any doubt that war is ultimately paid for by people with large means." Congressman McSwain of South Carolina asked him whether he knew of the Government's investigation of a certain metals company which showed that large bonuses were paid by the corporation to various employees to hide excess profits. Mr. Baker answered in the negative. Perhaps Mr. Baker either had too little leisure or else read the wrong books.

Commander O'Neil would preserve peace "by making other nations see we are armed." Colonel Paul V. McNutt—another Legion light—former head of the American Legion and present Dean of the Indiana University Law School, couldn't see the logic of treating the two groups, property and life, in the same way although he has on many public occasions prated about the necessity for "drafting dollars as well as men." Brigadier General Palmer Pierce, former member of the War Industries Board, opined that it would be impossible to conduct war without some profits and that the theory of equalization in drafting men and wealth probably would prove disastrous in practice since it might result in delay and loss of private initiative. On the other hand Commander John M. Hancock, formerly of the Naval Supply Office, feared building too much machinery and "doing too much to meet a probable situation," while Howard E. Coffin prefers the registration during peace-time of all executives and laborers who would be "key men" in war-time. These he would give "buttons." He also proposed the dubious procedure of establishing a system of "educational orders"—a factory subsidy plan—in the Army and Navy without the necessity of competitive bids.

LIMITATIONS of space preclude a discussion of the economic and constitutional features of Mr. Baruch's much publicized price-freezing scheme. As a matter of fact, such a discussion is relatively unimportant since his price-freezing is essentially a war mechanism and is therefore, at the present time, an academic question. Furthermore, just what per cent capital—it can be trusted to take care of itself under any contingency—should receive as profit when humanity is being slaughtered, strikes one as a macabre jest. One can only direct Mr. Baruch to his statement "there never was a war without inflation, profiteering, and unequal burdens" and point out that he either forgets or ignores the fact that war occurs largely because of conflicting economic rivalries. To expect those industrial or economic powers to equalize the burdens in the very war precipitated by them, directly or indirectly—this is the crux of the matter—for just the reverse purpose strikes one as fatuous. And yet Mr. Baruch con-

siders that his plan "would go very far toward keeping the peace of the world."

The farce continued down the line, with the veriest poppycock mouthed by both industrial ruler and labor leader with the exception of Professor John Dewey's "People's Lobby" whose executive secretary, Benjamin Marsh, proposed the calling of an "International Economic Disarmament Conference" to reconcile conflicting economic forces. Mr. Marsh also had the temerity to doubt the wisdom of Mr. Hoover's handling of the business depression. The Secretary of War felt constrained to defend the Great Engineer by hurling such intellectual thunderbolts as "Did you serve the country in the war? Do you believe in the perpetuation of American government? Are you a Bolshevist? A Socialist? Do you believe in the American judiciary?"

William Green, President of the A. F. of L., had no recommendation to make to the commission, although on questioning by Mr. Collins, he did risk advising war profit taxes as a means of taking profit out of war. What Mr. Green thinks of the dismal failure of the excess profits tax to stop padding and other forms of cheating inevitable in war time, he didn't say. But with professorial finality he stated, "It is dangerous to interfere with the operation of the economic law. . . . Anyone who has studied economics knows that industry under any circumstances, war or peace, is entitled to a proper return on its investment." Homer Ferguson, President of the Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Corporation, said: "What we want is to operate industry with an excess profits tax." It seems that quite a few other corporations want the same thing.

Eugene Meyer, Governor of the Federal Reserve Board, and former director of the War Finance Corporation, testified to the futility of attempting to lay down specific financial war plans by legislative act at the present time. "Then you favor a plan for war from year to year?" Mr. Hadley, attempting the lawyer's old trick of speaking for the witness, asked Mr. Meyer. "I take it that there is no immediate prospect of war. If anything, the experience of the last war is a profitless operation to all peoples," Mr. Meyer replied.

A WORD on the commission personnel. But for Congressman Collins of Mississippi, little if anything would have been heard of the War Department's scheme to strengthen its hold on industry. He has given every indication of carrying on the fight against this scheme in the hearings which will be resumed later on. Senator Robinson, of Arkansas, said little, content to be the impaled moth rather than the gadfly an opposition leader ought to be, while Senator Swanson of Virginia has regularly informed the witnesses that he was Chairman of the Naval Affairs

Committee of the Senate during the war. Senator Vandenberg of Michigan has attended but two or three hearings, while Senator Reed of Pennsylvania and the Secretaries of the Navy and Agriculture and the Attorney General have been absent altogether. Mr. Doak, Secretary of Labor, and Mr. Lamont, Secretary of Commerce, have been quiet. Representative L. H. Hadley of Washington, in answer to the question, "Do you realize that the commission is paying its secretary \$750 a month?" replied, "Why, yes, but he is devoting all of his time to it." Representative W. P. Holaday of Illinois has been content merely to stare. Congressman McSwain represents the fixed idea "that business must not be paralyzed." The only Secretary who has taken an active part in the hearings thus far is Mr. Hurley. He, it seems, considers the commission largely a War Department board rather than a joint cabinet-congressional commission. Maybe he's right.

It is important to point out that a discussion of "war policies" in time of peace is not only largely futile from the military angle but also dangerous in that it undermines by the inculcation of a war psychology the peace mind created by the Kellogg Peace Pact and tends to create a hypersensitive nationalism. The realization of the present War Department plan for the mobilization of industry, in addition to accomplishing little—Mr. Baker pointed out the impossibility of anticipating modern war needs—will only tend to increase the fear and suspicion of us abroad. Indeed the very term "mobilization" is unfortunate inasmuch as it is usually a prelude to war.

As Florence Brewer Boeckel stated in her book *The Turn Toward Peace*, "It is the business of military men to build up as efficient a military machine as possible, but it is for Congress to say how much of the resources and energy of the nation should be allotted to this preparation for war."

The Meadow

IT was in vain for me to guess
What hints the meadow-flowers showed:
What hidden correspondences
They flashed in quick and secret code. . . .

I stared at glinting bush and tree;
I stood bewildered in the middle
Of all that bright conspiracy
To hint yet hide from me the riddle!

What they were semaphoring of
I could not spy; nor could I win
The plot of all their private love,
The rapture they were rooted in!

LOUIS GINSBERG

An Evolutionist on the Bench

The Story of Justice Holmes

WE who think of Mr. Justice Holmes as the great dissenter should remember that his first public act was to join with the majority. The Harvard class of '61 was graduating when the bomb-shell of secession exploded, and most of the seniors volunteered. Wendell, as his classmates called him, obtained a lieutenancy in the Massachusetts Twentieth Infantry, fought at Ball's Bluff, was wounded, went back and was wounded twice again.

Still another explosion shook that generation. Darwin jolted those young minds. Old, rockbound concepts lost hold. The scientific attitude of examining the accepted gave rise to the realization that life is a process of adjustment, and to young Holmes, who had a taste for philosophy, it was evident that social organisms, too, must constantly adapt themselves to changing conditions. Just as Freudian psychology has given new values to us in the twentieth century, evolution brought doubts and liberation to the nineteenth.

William James was studying medicine in Cambridge at the time Holmes was buckling down to law. James would wrangle with him on optimism and pessimism and then go home to think up an answer to put in the mail. James considered him "the only fellow here I care anything about . . . a first-rate article, and one which improves by wear. He is perhaps too exclusively intellectual, but sees things so easily and clearly and talks so admirably that it's a treat to be with him."

WHETHER nature or nurture deserves the honors for fashioning this interesting person is a matter for argument between eugenists and behaviorists. Born into uppercrust Boston society in 1841, he had a New England lineage long enough for any complacent scion to brag about. Father was a physician who never practised anything but literature. Grandfather Abiel Holmes had been for forty years minister of the First Congregational Church in Cambridge and a historian of parts. Summers were spent at Beverly Farms on the seacoast in the privacy which is the privilege of the well-to-do. Built against precipitous rock, the house was covered with luxuriant vines and the rocks with jasmine. Of course the Autocrat of the Breakfast Table was not free from admiring callers; many a stranger pulled his bell, and young Oliver got an eyeful of autograph hunters.

Intellectual playfulness was a Holmes family trait. The doctor's brother John, a lawyer, pleased the boy who was otherwise overburdened with serious thoughts about life's problems. Uncle John had a flair for

nonsense and was given to impromptu monologues spinning out into irresponsible sequences. His letters were full of foolery. He even twisted the tail of the law. One of his expressions, as the venerable Justice remembers it, was "the ambulatory will, with all its little codicils running around after it."

Levy must have been congenital, although the Justice maintains that the virus was acquired late in life among other vices, including print-collecting. Father ascribed his own mental inheritance to the Wendells. Sarah Wendell, wife of the Rev. Abiel Holmes, was of New York Dutch stock that settled in Boston and married descendants of Governor Bradstreet and Governor Dudley. The doctor married Amelia Lee Jackson, whose father was Chief Justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court until 1824. Recently, when Justice Holmes was being conducted through Harvard Law School to see his own portrait unveiled he stopped in front of a painting of this forebear and remarked, "That old bird was my grandfather."

Oliver Wendell Holmes' resemblance to his father is not so distant as is supposed by an offhand comparison which poses innocuous gracefulness of expression on one side and vigorous analysis on the other. Charles W. Eliot remembered Holmes, Sr., as an *enfant terrible* in the medical world, accusing physicians of carrying puerperal fever from one confined woman to another, and as a pioneering professor of anatomy and physiology at Harvard Medical School, fond of provoking the conservatives of the faculty. This was in the days before the advent of bacteriology, which vindicated his insistence that maternity mortality would be reduced if doctors washed their hands.

Dr. Holmes spoke of his double professorship not as a chair but as a settee. His task was to instruct students who were obliged to listen to thirty lectures a week. Entrusted with these fatigued hopefuls, he brought vivacity and earned popularity. He lectured without notes, enlivened the boys with his gift of clear and charming speech, and illustrated his talks with engravings from his own library. President Eliot credited him with foresight in the science of medical instruction. The professor put histology on the map and required every student to learn to use the microscope.

"I ALWAYS thought that I was the ugliest of men, especially in my youth," Justice Holmes is quoted by the artist, Walter Tittle. "In my early conceptions of masculine comeliness curly hair was an indispensa-

ble requisite." (He was gangling, with expressive dark brown eyes and glossy brown hair that lay quite flat away from its part high on the left.) "My father gave me a conviction of physical inferiority by pointing out the weakness of mankind, using himself and his son as illustrations. I was positive that I was a very inferior person. He kicked me into the law and thereby did a fairly good job in determining my life for me. In spite of his theory of human frailty, father wrote a book at eighty, and at eighty-four I am still going strong."

Age has been an amusing, not a reverential, matter to him. Often he refers to an imminent end of his span, but he has always managed to live on. Every year, when a new secretary comes down to him from Harvard, he reminds the young man that he cannot guarantee a full year's job. Ten years ago he spoke of himself as "an old warrior who cannot expect to bear arms much longer." In 1902, when he was appointed to the Supreme Court, objection was raised on the ground of his age, sixty-one, but he was expected to continue of use for another fifteen years. At seventy he signed letters, "Your aged friend." On his ninetieth birthday the man who never uses a typewriter or a radio sat before a microphone in his Washington home and told listeners-in that "the end draws near."

The red brick house he occupies in I Street (he writes it Eye Street) is the same to which he came with Mrs. Holmes on his appointment. There she remained his gracious companion for twenty-seven years longer, abstaining from Washington society, deriving pleasure from the visits of a new crop of brilliant youngsters and from their own banter. The Justice frequently read aloud an entire book to her. Summers they repaired to the old homestead at Beverly Farms for their long June-to-October vacation from Court. They moved back to the capital just before the opening of the new term and settled down to another round of cases and opinions, as well as a winter devoted to the reading of foreign and domestic literature.

Mrs. Holmes is gone now. One supposed her passing would undo him, but he took his grief like a Stoic and applied himself to the balance-wheel of his judicial work. (A few months after her death he wrote his dissenting opinion in the *Rosika Schwimmer* case, a vigorous and sparkling essay on liberty which may become immortal.) Mrs. Holmes had been the merry and popular Fanny Dixwell, daughter of the man who conducted the private Latin school Holmes attended. They were married in '72 when he was editing the *American Law Review*. If anyone knew the human foibles of a great man it was this wife. One day when a painter called to finish a portrait of Holmes and word was sent down that the subject was regretfully too busy, Mrs. Holmes laughed and told

the artist, "You'll probably find him hiding behind a new French novel and smoking a cigarette."

THE boy of twenty who joined up with the Union Army before graduation, burrowed into law on his return, and people realized that he was a more strenuous worker than his genial father. It looked as if he were going to make his mark some day. After growing a drooping mustache and loitering in Europe—it must have been pretty wide-awake loitering—he was admitted to the bar in '67 and into partnership with his only brother, Edward Jackson Holmes.

He taught constitutional law at Harvard one year and lectured on jurisprudence the next, meanwhile editing the *Review* and revealing his talent for the compact sentence. Leaving the editorial desk for the courtroom, he practised as a member of the firm of Shattuck, Holmes and Munroe until his literary achievements brought him fame and a new station in life.

Holmes' interest in the law as a science and his researches into the common law were manifested during his editorship. He had already put in a painstaking job editing the twelfth edition of Kent's *Commentaries* when the Lowell Institute, before which his father had given a series of lectures on the poets, asked him to lecture on the common law. Those who heard him said that his manner of delivery was a marvelous intellectual performance. He spoke without referring to a manuscript as though narrating an absorbing story offhand. Steeped in his theme, he did not need to memorize; he appeared to be going through a process of reasoning at the moment. In preparing these lectures for book publication he put in enough work rearranging, rewriting, and enlarging to render most of the book practically new.

Its publication in '81 made him internationally famous. (*The Common Law* remains a classic.) Harvard gave him a professorship in '82, but he held it only a few months. At the end of the year he was appointed to the Supreme Judicial Court, following in the traces of "that old bird." It is not true, however, to say that he followed anybody's trail. In those days, despite the reproaches of public opinion, he seemed to be a champion of the common man in his opinions in labor cases. Hence in the controversies that shot out of the new industrialism Holmes sustained the right of unions to picket, strike, and boycott. His mental integrity saved him from the influence of the vested interests of Massachusetts, while the majority of the court were disposed to keep a conventional regard for precedent. But Holmes, dissenting, would point out that a patrol of workers in front of a place of business did not necessarily carry with it a threat of bodily harm, and that a union had a right to dissuade other men by peaceable means. Combined workmen had the same liberty as combined

capital to support their interests by the bestowal or refusal of advantages in their control.

Small wonder that President Roosevelt, who was something of a reformer, appointed this man to the next vacancy in the United States Supreme Court.

The seed of the long Holmes tradition on that bench is contained in a paragraph of news comment which he wrote while on the *Review*. It combined the elements of his social philosophizing—his belief in the will and power of the majority, his acceptance of change with the shifting of burdens, his emphasis on the current realignment and the justice of society's self-defense against minorities. The occasion was an English decision involving a gas stokers' strike in London. The thirty-two-year-old editor took issue with Herbert Spencer's position on class legislation and he wrote in part:

It has always seemed to us a singular anomaly that believers in the theory of evolution and in the natural development of institutions by successive adoptions to the environment, should be found laying down a theory of government intended to establish its limits once for all by a logical deduction from axioms.

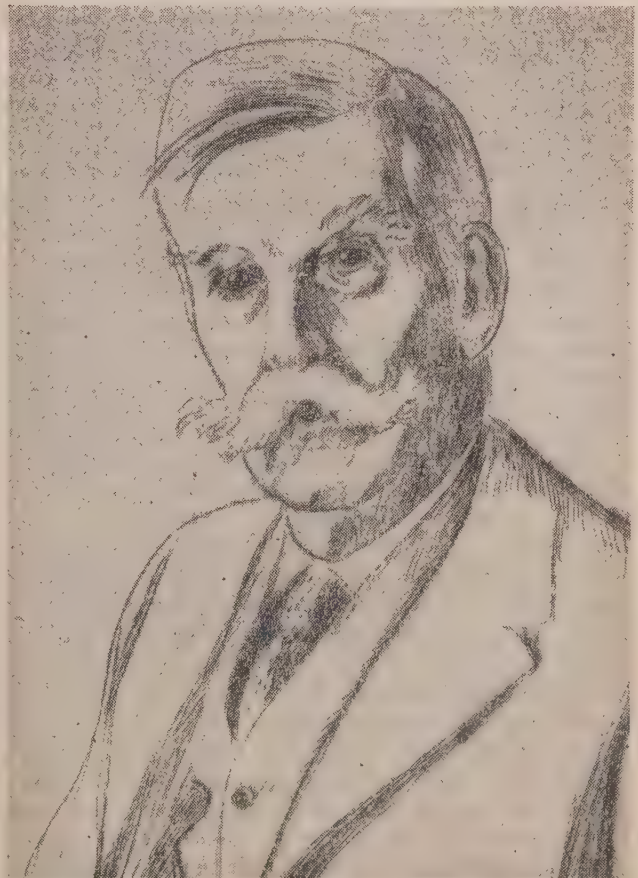
Holmes' objection was that the different parts of a community did not have an identity of interest and that Mr. Spencer was wrong in assuming that a change in the law was inexpedient if society as a whole failed to ease its burden as a result. Moreover, to object to legislation because it favors one class at the expense of another was, he declared, a weak point; most legislation does that, even when it is in behalf of greatest number as against a minority consisting of the most intelligent.

HOLMES came out of war with faith in the righteousness of martial combat. He rose from his studies with the conviction that individual rights may be sacrificed without a scruple whenever the predominant power is thought to demand this last measure of self-preservation. That is why it is easy to understand how as a judge he gives some people the impression he is a liberal and gives some liberals the certainty that he is not. Though he accepts the deliberations of legislatures on such matters as minimum wages, maximum hours, child labor, woman labor and trade unions, and the safeguarding of civil liberties, there comes a time, he feels, when freedom of speech is curbed by the same reasoning which permits a state to protect itself from the multiplication of imbeciles by requiring sterilization. "I used to say, when I was young, that truth was the majority vote of that nation that could lick all others."

The nature of truth thus early conceived identified itself with what most people were willing to believe. Subjectively, truth was "the system of my intellectual limitations. . . . I do not venture to assume that my inabilities in the way of thought are inabilities of the universe," and it became truth for others only in so

far as it coincided with their limitations. Writing to James in 1901, the year before the chief justice of Massachusetts became an associate justice in Washington, he said, "I have been in the habit of saying that all I mean by truth is what I can't help thinking. . . . My *can't helps* are not necessarily cosmic. . . . I can't help preferring champagne to ditch water, but I doubt if the universe does. . . . The great act of faith is when a man decides that he is not God. . . . It seems to me that my only promising activity is to make *my* universe coherent and livable, not to babble about *the* universe."

When differing with his brethren on the bench he is not loving capitalism less or states' rights more; he insists that they must not judge by their own conceptions of public policy or morals. They should permit, in his deathless phrase, "free trade in ideas." The best test of truth is "the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market." This is the theory of the Constitution, he says. "It is an experiment, as all life is an experiment. Every year if not every day we have to wager our salvation upon some prophecy based upon imperfect knowledge." Just as reformers who spout universal dogmas



From an etching by Bernard Sanders

Oliver Wendell Holmes

are not to his liking, he cannot entertain the conclusions of his associates when they cling to *status quo*.

A constitution is made for people of fundamentally differing views, he feels. A statute's constitutionality is not to be determined by finding the opinion it embodies either "natural and familiar or novel and even shocking." The occasion for that statement was the refusal of the Supreme Court to permit the State of New York to limit the working hours of bakers. The court held that the right to buy or sell labor was a liberty guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. Again, when Congress enacted a law prohibiting the discharge of railroad workers for the reason that they were members of a union, Holmes dissented from a decision which found the law unconstitutional.

I quite agree that the question what and how much good labor unions do is one on which intelligent people may differ,—I think that laboring men sometimes attribute to them advantages, as many attribute to combinations of capital disadvantages, that are really due to economic conditions of a far wider and deeper kind—but I could not pronounce it unwarranted if Congress should decide that to foster a strong union, was for the best interests, not only of the men, but of the railroads and the country at large.

Likewise, when the case before the court involves a pioneer for a better world, the peaceful advocate should not be denied. Rosika Schwimmer, for instance, is opposed to the war system which is part of the Constitution. She wants the Constitution improved in this respect, at least, and is pledged to refuse war service. Because of her capacity for baneful influence she was denied citizenship. Holmes said he did not share her optimism that war will disappear, "nor do I think that a philosophic view of the world would regard war as absurd." But he added:

If there is any principle of the Constitution that more imperatively calls for attachment than any other it is the principle of free thought—not free thought for those who agree with us but freedom for the thought that we hate. I think that we should adhere to that principle with regard to admission into, as well as to life within, this country.

WHAT a pity it would be if Holmes had stuck by his early declaration, "I think it useless and undesirable, as a rule, to express dissent." We are grateful that he broke the rule often, for the body of his dissenting opinions aside from being studded with literary gems gives us the heritage of a continuous record of revolt. Instead of casting an opposing vote with silent discontent he has stated his grounds and become the articulate promise of a new order.

If at times his conclusions diverge from the shibboleths of progressives, they must not think that they alone possess the true article. No one was more startled than President Roosevelt when Holmes failed to support his trust-busting campaign and voted to uphold the Northern Securities railroad merger. In

another anti-trust case Holmes again sided with the combination, seeing nothing in its conduct which would not be practised, "if we can imagine it, by an all-wise socialistic government."

The war, crisis of crises, brought disappointment and loss of hope. What price tolerance when at the supreme moment a Holmes condemns a Debs? In the venomous days of prosecution under the Espionage Act many among us felt that the test of liberalism had come. And as liberalism closed the door in defense of the established system, evolution by revolution gained adherents. The folly of force against force is not within the province of the present writer. We can see how Holmes naturally came by sustaining the bayonet behind the conscript and approving conviction of resisters. He himself does not disbelieve in war—although that is not supposed to bear any weight—but the Government he has sworn to uphold, the Constitution he has sworn to defend, countenance war; they provide for war and the machinery of it. Congress, supposedly responsive to the people, declares war in conformity with the power bestowed by the Constitution, and it votes for enabling acts and for punishment of enemies foreign and domestic.

After all, we are dealing with the law. While we have laws, constitutions and governments we shall have authority. Within the realm of authority our best fortune is to possess, as a last word, a mind compounded of fairness, wisdom, and grace. If he believes in the greatest good of the greatest number, whereas we may be thinking of the greatest good of future generations, to quibble with him is to claim that we have the patented nostrum. The short way is to dissent. Holmes has said that "an evolutionist will hesitate to affirm universal validity for his social ideals, or for the principles which he thinks should be embodied in legislation. He is content if he can prove them best for here and now. He may be ready to admit that he knows nothing about an absolute best in the cosmos, and even that he knows nothing about a permanent best for men."

But he looks for lone thinkers like Darwin and Pasteur who will discover the principles basic to new adjustments. He cheers on these adventurers in solitude who "must face the loneliness of original work." And yet men of destiny are not far removed from the plane of the workaday world. "The man of the future," said Mr. Justice Holmes, automobile companion of Mr. Justice Brandeis, "is the man of statistics and the master of economics." There is no need to talk of Olympian grandeur in connection with Holmes. He is full of humor, sometimes saucy, sometimes colloquial. "Young feller," he says, and when he fashions a bright epigram in writing a letter he beckons his secretary and makes him listen. Olympian? He is human to the point of having a wart on his cheek!

Re-Reverberations!

Edward E. Spafford, Past National Commander of
The American Legion.

Please be assured that I have no quarrel with those who can advance the peace of the world. I am sure that the last war has not been fought and I, therefore, believe in preparedness so that America may maintain her place of peace in a troubled world.

In case this country shall ever be involved in war, the person who is responsible for the sending of inexperienced men to battle must forever bear the mark of Cain upon his brow for he is certainly guilty of murder of his fellow men. You may be interested in reading my recent contribution to "The Golden Book of Peace." It is as follows: "When political leaders supplant envy and hate with affection and friendship then free people will cease to demand war."

I believe that there can be traitors in time of peace just as much as there can be traitors in time of war, and that he who takes from the child his love of country is as guilty as he who takes from a person the consolation of his God.

Editorial, *Tulsa Daily World*, June 5, 1931.

The citizen is not a judge of international crises or needs, or of the obligations of the government. He exercises no volition in the matter of taxes or in many other affairs. No exception has been made in the case of war. To say now that "I will never bear arms" is merely foolish and a feeble confession of anarchy.

Editorial, *New Bedford Times*, April 30, 1931.

Over 10,000 "American" churchmen recently stated in answer to a questionnaire that they would not participate as armed combatants in any future war.

Those 10,000 wilful persons have thereby announced they *will not be loyal* to the United States in case the United States finds it necessary to enter war.

Those 10,000 sworn malingerers are no longer Americans.

They should be deported promptly to some other land, whose lower register of citizenship may perhaps not require loyalty as a constituent.

These Undesirables who, in time of peace, seize the opportunity to boast that they *will not serve* the United States in time of war are precisely as dangerous to the welfare of the United States and their fellow-citizens as the felons who, in time of war, sell military secrets to the enemy, scuttle our ships, or endeavor to poison the food and drink of our soldiers and civilians . . . To plot to hamstring the armed movements on one's Nation in time of war is Treason.

And to announce and publish in time of peace that one *will not serve* when the Nation is mortally imperilled, is Treason of even greater virulence . . . There is a grave responsibility resting today on the shoulders of all superiors of these disloyal clergymen in whatever denominations they infest.

Such superiors or governing bodies should take immediate disciplinary action upon and against any member of their clergy who has thus renounced his essential Loyalty to the United States . . . Let us have *men* in our American pulpits, as in our American

offices, factories and farms! And by *men* we mean Loyal Americans whom George Washington himself would have been proud to lead in battle!

The Christian Register, May 7, 1931.

Hundreds of years ago Xenophon chronicled in immortal prose the story of the retreat of the ten thousand Greeks from Asia Minor. *THE WORLD TOMORROW*, in its study of the opinions of 19,372 clergymen on various questions connected with war and peace, has performed what well may be a more important service to humanity.

Frederick J. Libby, National Council for Prevention
of War.

The questionnaire has led to much comment on the Pacific Coast. The *Los Angeles Times* last Sunday maintained editorially that the thirty thousand ministers that failed to reply were probably all militarists (I use the term in the dictionary sense without opprobrium). In my judgment it is more probable that the militarists all replied vigorously as did the convinced pacifists, while the thirty thousand are still in the twilight zone where so many of us were once, not having quite reached a conclusion on this great issue.

You would be pleased with the effect which the report has had on many of the younger ministers. Keen, forward-looking, and fearless pacifists, they have already begun pressing the issue upon their ministerial brethren, with the defenders of the war system fighting with their backs to the wall.

Charles W. Gilkey, Dean, University of Chicago
Chapel.

The question is often raised as to what happened to the "social gospel" since the Great War; and the disillusioned answer sometimes is that it is one of the war's major casualties. To some of us the most significant thing about the replies to *THE WORLD TOMORROW*'s questionnaire as to the attitude of American ministers on war and peace is their clear revelation of the superficiality of that clever answer. Hundreds of the ministers who answered the eight questions are no longer able to think or speak as glibly as some of them did before 1914 on what is involved in the application of the principles and attitudes of Jesus to modern life; but hundreds of them also have become clearly aware for the first time of the "irrepressible conflict" between those principles and the whole war system. In this area at least the social gospel has been working under the surface of the thinking of American ministers ever since the war like water underground, and now a movement that begins to look almost like a landslide in clerical opinion appears as the result.

It is too early to say how far this shift in their social thinking will keep on moving toward the left, or what changes it will eventually produce in the American scene. But the great social revolutions in human history (among them those that banished slavery, overthrew despotism and launched democracy) have come about in large part as a result of similar changes in thought and attitude that started underground, and finally transformed the entire social landscape. For the immediate future, much may depend on

how many ministers keep their new ways of thinking to themselves, as some did decades ago with their new ways of thinking about the Bible and about religion itself—and how many begin wisely and yet courageously to lead their people along the new ways with them. We shall have plenty of patriotic and militaristic fundamentalists with us for a long time to come, without involving our successors in flank and rear attacks from the socially “unreconstructed” within the church.

W. C. Stauffer, Asbury M. E. Church, Lake Mills, Iowa.

“When . . . 10,427 ministers state that it is their present purpose not to sanction any future war or participate as armed combatants,” it begins to look like our church is guilty of treason to Constitutional Government, and is resorting to unwholesome force in nullification rather than the Christian, brotherhood way of reason, persuasion and coöperation, which is the lawful means provided that the majority of our fellow citizens may rule.

I, for one, will never submit to being ruled by a minority in a democracy, whether it be a 2 per cent composite of clergymen and other self-confident moralists, or racketeers of any persuasion. The futility of the method lies in the fact that there are too many like me in this. We won't let you win by coercion in a democracy.

Editorial, Norfolk Virginia Pilot, April 26, 1931.

Such a symposium of ministerial views as *THE WORLD TOMORROW* has elicited is chiefly interesting as a sign of increasing respectability of intelligent pacifism—a term that has come in for much unintelligent derision—in an era still dominated by the concepts of Realpolitik of Versailles. As intelligent pacifism, which has nothing in common with the pacifism derided in chauvinistic literature, makes headway, the outlook improves for the negotiation of treaties of arbitration and conciliation, for acceptance of the jurisdiction of the World Court, and for the ratification of covenants limiting armaments and rationalizing the trouble-breeding international struggle for trade and profit. It is as a sign pointing to greater hospitality to these agencies for the prevention and limitation of international disputes, that the answers to *THE WORLD TOMORROW*'s poll is most encouraging, rather than as a promise that the clergy will behave differently from their congregations and vestries when war actually breaks loose.

Bishop Paul Jones, Religious Advisor, Antioch College.

The most remarkable thing about the replies to the questionnaire on war matters is the tremendous swing toward pacifism which they represent. Having kept in close touch with the thinking of the clergy along this line since the war, I can say that the change is really revolutionary. But will they stick? That's the question and I'm not entirely sure of the answer. When the strain came in 1917 it could be observed that in general only those stood firm as pacifists who had a definite philosophy of life back of their opposition to war. Sometimes that philosophy was socialism or humanitarianism, sometimes the Christian gospel. The reason why I am doubtful in regard to the sticking capacity of this group of ministers is that they do not show the same readiness to apply the social bearing of their gospel to the industrial order or in race relations. To the extent that that is true, Christianity does not give them a philosophy of life, whatever other values it offers;

and I'm afraid the social pressure of the war hysteria will get many of them.

Frank P. Litschert, Editor, *National Republic*.

We are greatly disappointed to note that a majority of the clergymen in your poll declare they would not sanction or participate even in a defensive war made necessary by the attack upon the United States by some other nation. We are disappointed because we feel that all of us ought to be so much opposed to force and violence in the decision of international disputes, that we could not sanction such a resort to arms by our enemies, and assist in its success, through declining to resist force and violence by military means even though the life of our country, the safety

William Randolph Hearst Speaking!

IT was high time for someone in authority to voice the contempt of the nation for the sapping expedition against the national defense which a clerical minority of Pacifists is organizing.

This patriotic task has been admirably performed by General Douglas MacArthur, Chief of Staff of the United States Army. . . .

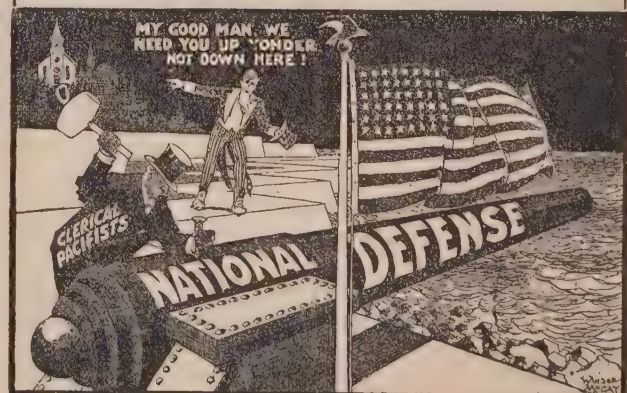
In every war waged by the American people in defense of the nation, clergymen have volunteered and have rendered patriotic service afield and afloat.

Never has the Congress required them to bear arms, and by the terms of the Geneva Convention ratified by this country in 1907, chaplains were given the status of non-combatants.

Therefore no American clergyman has the slightest excuse for repudiating in advance his constitutional obligation as a citizen to serve his country as the government to which he professes his allegiance directs.

Furthermore no American clergyman can justify his participation in any sapping expedition against the national defense upon the ground that the United States is provoking attack by excessive armaments.

As General MacArthur points out, the existing total of our land forces today is only about one-third of one per centum of our total population.—*New York American*, June 5, 1931.



our homes, and even the existence of the Christian religion, as in the case of an attack by Soviet Russia, were at stake. We are disappointed, also, because we regard the rising spirit of lawlessness as one of the chief dangers of our time. Our national and state constitutions make every citizen a member of the unorganized militia, subject to call in case of insurrection and invasion. For the Protestant clergy to pledge resistance to the constitution and laws of our country is, of course, to put themselves in the category of scoundrels, along with the bootleggers and other outlaws.

No greater harm can be inflicted upon Protestantism than to leave the impression created that it is unpatriotic to the extent even of repudiating the obligation to defend, in time of danger, the nation, which has protected it in all its rights and liberties from the beginning. Whenever it becomes generally believed that one cannot be at the same time a Christian and a patriot, the churches will suffer more than patriotism. It is gratifying to note, from answers you quote, that many ministers agree with our position, and it is reasonable to conclude that in case of attack upon the nation, it would turn out that this contemplated lack of loyalty to our country by many clergymen, would prove to be only a gesture, and that they would not be as pusillanimous and disloyal as their responses might seem to predict.

F. P. A., in the *New York Herald Tribune*, May 2, 1931.

Lay long, being too weary to rise before nine o'clock, and read that 62 per cent of the Protestant clergymen, asked the question by *THE WORLD TOMORROW*, said they believed that the churches of America ought to go on record as refusing to support or sanction any future war. But I think that means little, forasmuch as many of these clergymen would probably find that they did not mean that they would not sanction a war that was to liberate humanity, or free mankind or whatever the poppycock phrase is that we patriots will be able to think up by that time. And few clergymen will be brave enough, or foolhardy enough to stand out against a great procession of bandwagons. And yet I think that the churches and the newspapers alone, if they had a united desire, could make future war impossible.

Henry T. Hodgkin, Director, Pendle Hill School; one of the founders of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

For years I have been among those who believed that the Christian Churches could stop war in the world if they were to take the teaching and example of Jesus seriously. If the results shown by the canvass of *THE WORLD TOMORROW* can be taken as fairly representative of the considered and determined judgment of a large proportion of Christian leaders—and I think it must be so taken—we are within measurable distance of the time when this view of the churches' opportunity can be put to the test. What ministers sincerely believe today the rank and file will believe tomorrow. We need to realize the immense power that lies behind these facts and figures. They represent many a decision reached through hard thinking and even a measure of spiritual agony. Have we not too early assumed that the pacifist forces are negligible? Let these facts reassure us, but let them also challenge us. This power must not be allowed to run to waste. It must be harnessed to the great task. Is any work of salvation more needed today than to rid the world of war? This is the Church's privilege and duty—now or never; for God, our Father, and for

humanity, our brothers, let us arise and accomplish the task. If we do not, what use is the Church in the world today or in the world tomorrow?

H. L. Mencken, Editor, *The American Mercury*.

Unfortunately, I find myself in grave doubt about the bona fides of the reverend brethren. My fear is that in case of another war they would begin howling from their pulpits precisely as they did in the last one. Certainly the spectacle they then presented to the world was a distressing one. I see no reason to believe that any considerable number of them have changed their spots. A few, to be sure, would stand pat, but I fear that the great majority, once the bands began to play, would begin damning the enemy to hell precisely as they did the last time.

At some time in the future I hope to print a volume giving characteristic specimens of the sermons preached in America during 1917 and 1918. The record, I fear, will be appalling, but it certainly deserves to be put on paper.

Editorial, *The Nation*, May 6, 1931.

The church historically has been closely tied up with the war system, and those bonds are not broken today, however many the individual clergymen in actual or threatened revolt. None the less, making all necessary allowances, we welcome this showing as an encouraging sign that there is at work within the churches a powerful leaven, and that those great organizations are not likely to be swung over without powerful protest to the support of our next military adventure. Let the watchmen on the towers of Zion, then, cry aloud and spare not.

Maurice S. Sheehy, Catholic University of America.

The article, "Nineteen Thousand Clergymen on War and Peace", is, to say the least, thought-provoking. Rather than comment on the results of this study, I prefer to suggest a few questions raised in my mind by reading the article. I fear that I am not sufficiently familiar with the origins of the opinions voiced in the article to attempt anything like critical evaluation of them. The first question is this: have these men who so emphatically oppose both defensive and aggressive wars the authority to insure that their followers may in a time of grave emotional disturbance submit to their leadership? If such is the case, I would consider the information given in *THE WORLD TOMORROW* of great significance.

The second question raised in my mind is: are these clergymen able to secure pronouncements from their religious groups to the same intent as their own pronouncements? There are certain opinions which I may express as an individual and which may be received or rejected by Catholics. Other doctrines I teach as a member of the Catholic priesthood, doctrines which have the sanction of the Church, and these doctrines have weight not because of the person proposing them, but because of the authority of an age-old Church which, the Catholic believes, teaches as Christ's own spokesman. These pronouncements against even defensive wars come at a time when there are no war clouds in the horizon. If the people desired war, would they be equally emphatic? A clergyman, for instance, who would yield to the lower impulses of his congregation by making divorce easy, or, worse still, popularize immorality by disseminating birth control propaganda, might not have the courage to oppose the tide of public opinion in the face of imminent war.

William E. Sweet, Former Governor of Colorado.

In the comment of Father John A. Ryan of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, published in the June number of THE WORLD TOMORROW, he expresses surprise at the large proportion of replies of the clergymen who responded to the war questionnaire, which deny a distinction between defensive and aggressive war. He states: "Both the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Kellogg Pact assumed that this distinction is valid and capable of definition." Ever since the Covenant was signed, attempts to define aggression have been made, with no success. A special committee was set up in the League for the specific purpose of defining the aggressor. This committee in its "Commentary on the Definition of Aggression" asserted that: "No satisfactory definition of what constitutes an act of aggression can be drawn up."

In the unofficial draft treaty of the Kellogg Pact submitted by France, aggressive war was mentioned but in the original proposal of Briand no such reservation was made. This difference proved to be a rock on which the negotiations were almost wrecked. Senator Borah was right when he set his mind absolutely against any attempt to distinguish by definition between aggressive and defensive wars. . . . Why should the clergy of America be called upon to define that which the statesmen negotiating the Kellogg Pact found impossible or inexpedient to do? . . .

A defensive war is just as difficult to define as an aggressive war. Every war is defensive to the nation waging it. Under self-defense have been classified "the protection of those right, interests and concerns which a nation considers to involve its welfare." Will Father Ryan accept this definition of defense, or is it too broad to satisfy his conscience? Perhaps he is thinking of defense simply as an act of repelling an invading foe. In the recent wars in which this country has engaged, not once has our territory been threatened, false and misleading propaganda to the contrary notwithstanding. . . .

No statement concerning war can be made which is more generally accepted than that war is inevitable. When the signatories to the Kellogg Pact agree that "the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts, of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them shall never be sought except by pacific means," it is implied that war is not inevitable and that the use of force can be avoided. All workers for peace should stand upon this declaration without hesitation, reservation, or equivocation. Public sentiment against war must not be impeded by doctrinaire discussions about aggressive and defensive war. The forces for peace in the United States were solidly united upon the single objective of the ratification of the Kellogg Pact. Surely the adherents of the peace movement will not permit it to become less unified now that its objective has been obtained!

Milwaukee and Socialism

B. CHARNEY VLADECK

IN 1910 Milwaukee was on the verge of bankruptcy. There was a deficit in the operating funds of the year; sums had to be borrowed from bankers to enable the city to meet its payrolls; every possible fund with the exception of the School Fund was broke, including a two million dollar shortage in the Police and Firemen's Pension Fund; contracting work was being financed by certificates drawing six per cent interest; the city was nine school houses short; there were scarcely any playgrounds; the sewage was dumped into the drinking water supply; pavements were in deplorable condition; the bridges were in bad shape; refuse and ashes were not regularly removed even from the sidewalks. That year Milwaukee broke away from the grip of the political gangs that ruled the city and elected Emil Seidel, a Socialist, to head the municipal administration. With him a number of Socialist Councilmen were elected. A few years later Daniel W. Hoan, Socialist City Attorney, was elected Mayor and has been reelected since. Instead of three parties contesting the election, as was the case in 1910, there are now only two parties—the Socialist and the non-Socialist. At no time during these twenty years did the Socialists have a majority in the Common Council.

Today, according to experts, Milwaukee has the best credit of any city in the country. Not only is its municipal indebtedness proportionately smaller than that of other cities of its size, but it has created an Amortiza-

tion Fund which is to retire the entire municipal debt in thirty years. To my knowledge, Milwaukee is the only city in the country that has such provision for the amortization of its debt. The sewage, instead of poisoning the water supply, is being converted into fertilizer at the rate of 110 tons a day. The city leads all others in forestry work. It has the lowest fire insurance rate of any urban community in the country (the Chief of the Fire Department is President of the Firemen's Union and a member of the Socialist Party), and only two other cities have as low a burglary rate. Milwaukee owns all its water front on Lake Michigan—an achievement of which no other city on the Great Lakes can boast, and it has won first place in the 1930 Health Exhibition of the United States Chamber of Commerce. It should also be added that Milwaukee is the only city in the country today which does not grant licenses to private detective agencies doing industrial work, and that within the last twenty years a peaceful striker was never slugged or interfered with by the police.

And please do not forget about the ashes. The Hon. James J. Walker, Mayor of the imperial city of New York, said not long ago: "As far as I am concerned, insincere men don't hurt me. . . . It is the complaint of the housewife who writes to ask why her ashes were not removed—that's the kind of complaint that gives one sleepless nights." Well, well, well. Not only are

ashes regularly removed in the city of Milwaukee, there being no complaint on record from any housewife on that score, but the agents of the city *actually remove the ashes from the housewife's basement*. . .

ONE would expect all these accomplishments to be very costly. Every time a new improvement or a new outlay for constructive work is suggested to the rulers of a modern American city, the answer invariably is that we cannot allow taxes to mount higher than what they are. How much, then, did it cost the citizens of Milwaukee, or rather how much does it cost them to have an honest, efficient, constructive government? What we wish to know is how much every citizen of Milwaukee contributes to the upkeep of his government as compared with other cities. In the year 1931 the per capita cost of city government on the basis of the tax budget is \$67.83. In New York City the per capita contribution is \$103. Thus the householder of Milwaukee both pays less for ash-removal service and gets more for his money.

On the surface, a comparison between New York and Milwaukee may look illogical, for there are so many points of difference between them. On the other hand, the function of city government is the same everywhere in the country. The various departments and the services rendered are similar in almost every municipality from Bangor to Los Angeles. Moreover, since we are reckoning all city expenses on a per capita basis, difference in size does not matter. An analysis, therefore, of the budgets of New York and Milwaukee for 1931 is most revealing.

Let us consider, first of all, the various functional activities of these two cities as reflected in their respective budgets. The costliest as well as the most important function in a modern city is education. The city of New York spends huge amounts on its educational and recreational activities, but these appropriations are only 20 per cent of the total budget for 1931. Milwaukee spends for the same purpose 35½ per cent of its budget. This is true not only relatively but absolutely. In actual dollars and cents Milwaukee spends more per child of school age than does New York, which means better schools, smaller classes, more playgrounds, more parks and better facilities for vocational training—Milwaukee boasting the largest vocational school in the country.

In percentage and in actual per capita outlay New York spends more for sanitation than Milwaukee. Yet even a casual traveler knows how much cleaner Milwaukee is than New York. Milwaukee, of course, has never had scandals in the street cleaning department.

The per capita cost of the Police Department is \$13.50 in New York and \$5.20 in Milwaukee. It might be practical to import some of the Milwaukee policemen into New York, for even with its inexpen-

sive police department, the "Cream City" has considerably less crime than New York. And this with a population quite as heterogeneous as that of our largest metropolis. What is more, Milwaukee is an industrial city where strikes are common. Nevertheless, a union does not have to pay graft to an "industrial squad" in order to give its pickets at least a semblance of protection. To my knowledge, there is no industrial squad, no vice squad, no loft squad, and no frameup squad in the entire city.

In the field of public health Milwaukee spends more than New York. Only .087 per cent of New York City's budget for the current year goes to the Department of Health, while in Milwaukee the figure is 1.6 per cent—nearly twice as much.

ONE could go on with such comparisons ad infinitum. In every department of city government Milwaukee gets better results at a smaller cost. The city has been growing steadily during the last two decades. From a population of 373,857 in 1910, it reached 578,249 in 1930, an increase of 47 per cent. During the same period Milwaukee rose to the position of the twelfth industrial city in the country. Manufacturers and business men have discovered that efficient and honest government, even if conducted by a Socialist, is quite profitable; that the health of a city's workers, its low fire and burglary rates, good sanitary conditions, and small indebtedness mean as much as any economies that could be effected in a plant at the expense of the worker. Milwaukee is not a low wage city. It is one of the strongest trade union centers in the Middle West, and its working people are better organized, more intelligent and more conscious of their interests than anywhere in the United States.

There is only one trouble with Milwaukee. It doesn't know how to advertise. It is too modest. It would do many another American city good to know what can be accomplished even today under all the usual handicaps that plague municipalities. Perhaps if more people knew of the achievements of Milwaukee, the average citizen would be less cynical about politics and politicians. Milwaukee has demonstrated that city government does not mean jobs, fat contracts, and graft—that it means constructive and intelligent administration devoted to the needs of all the citizens.

Skyscrapers

WHAT fitting landmarks of the age, those towers
Like giant stilts above the squatting town!—
Less disproportioned than the gold-ringed powers
Over the swarms their jeweled feet press down!

STANTON A. COBLENTZ

Not in the Headlines

The Land of the Brave

Women workers in Massachusetts are in some cases paid as low as from \$4.00 to \$7.00 per week, announces the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor.

Is This a Dole?

More than 40 million dollars were expended for relief of needy families in 100 American cities during 1930, reports the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor. This was twice the amount of the previous year, and did not include some expended by missions, lodging houses and other provisions for temporary shelter; nor did it include mothers' pensions or mothers' allowances from public funds.

College Course in Prohibition

"Prohibition As a Governmental Problem" is the title of a new course to be included in the curriculum offered by Ohio Wesleyan University. It will be a two-hour, one semester course open to juniors and seniors and offered under the auspices of the Political Science Department. An effort will be made to present both sides of the issue and lecturers of state and national repute will be secured.

The Motor Juggernaut

According to an analysis prepared by the Travelers Insurance Company there were in the United States, during the year 1930, 835,250 automobile accidents, which resulted in 32,500 deaths and 962,325 injuries. Collisions with pedestrians caused almost 50 per cent of the deaths while collisions with other automobiles were responsible for 49.2 per cent of the injuries resulting from motor accidents.

Jim Crow Cars for Ministers

According to the N. A. A. C. P., colored clergymen are frequently "Jim Crow" victims. The Eastern Clergy Bureau has recently ruled that all clergymen in applying for reduced transportation fares must state their race. The N. A. A. C. P. maintains that to oblige Negro clergymen to write 'colored' on their applications is playing into the hands of those who would humiliate and inconvenience colored people by depriving them of Pullman accommodations and otherwise subjecting them to discriminatory practices.

New Links for Old Chains

Capper's Magazine presents the following interesting statistics regarding chain stores:

	Present Number of Stores	Stores Added in 1930
F. W. Woolworth & Co.....	1,881	56
J. C. Penney & Co.....	1,452	57
Melville Shoes.....	480	21
Sears, Roebuck & Co.....	350	9
S. H. Kress.....	212	9
G. C. Murphy.....	166	12
F. & W. Grand.....	112	18
Silver Stores.....	45	2
Neisner.....	75	16
Lerner Stores (apparel).....	163	31

Let the Small Depositor Beware

A cut in the interest rate on small accounts from three per cent per annum to two per cent has been put into effect by the Chase National Bank of New York beginning June 1st. Comment on this step was to the effect that this "sounded a warning to small depositors that they must be prepared to earn less on their savings."

A Taxless Town

By owning and operating its three major utilities Chanute, Kansas, with a population of 11,000, has attained the enviable record of being the largest taxless town in the country. Profits derived from the municipal gas, water, and electric light plants have freed its citizens from the payment of taxes and made possible the payment of the city's bonded debt. Public ownership of the gas and water plants has been in effect thirty years and the consumer charges are rated among the lowest in the Middle West.

World Wage Decline

A decline of 20 per cent, or approximately nine billion dollars, in wages paid during 1930 as compared with 1929 was estimated by the Geneva Research Committee of the League of Nations' Association in a report entitled "Unemployment as an International Problem." The report includes a survey of the extent and severity of the present economic crisis in all countries, together with an outline of the proposed international action of various associations such as the International Labor Organization and the International Chamber of Commerce.

War Relics Unwanted

The Tower of London, long a show place of ancient guns and weapons, is offering many of its "surplus" relics for sale. The price is very low for items often of historical value. The head of the company effecting the disposition of the souvenirs of war explains the low price on the ground that "Today war relics are no longer in demand. Even tanks are not wanted as mementoes, and we have recently broken some up for the mere value of the metal."

College Graduates Face Unemployment

Replies to a questionnaire sent out by the National Student Federation of America indicate that the current business depression will seriously handicap 1931 college graduates in securing positions. The majority of the corporations replied that they expect to hire fewer college graduates than formerly and in some cases none at all. The reason given was not the failure of the young people in the past to meet expectations, but solely economic conditions. One of the nation's leading employers of college groups will reduce the number engaged this year more than 90 per cent of the number hired in 1930. Another industrial concern replied that it expects to employ only 50 new college graduates as against 450 in each of the two previous years. A large chemical concern admitted a 20 per cent reduction, and one of the principal corporation in the oil industry will employ only 11 1931 graduates as compared to 67 in 1930.

The Problem That Is Germany

EVELYN SHARP

IF it were possible to diagnose the condition of a nation, as it is sometimes possible to diagnose that of a person, by the methods of the psychologist, present-day Germany would be a fit subject for the experiment. But for the intimate connection between physical and mental conditions I would go further and say that only the methods of the psychologist are likely to prove effectual in tackling the problem that is Germany. In any case, since Germany's problem is not Germany's alone, the spiritual aspect of the question demands serious consideration; for a great nation suffering under a repressed sense of injustice and wrong is a menace to the health, mental and physical, of the whole comity of nations.

Her material ills are real enough. With reparations to pay under a plan whose economic soundness is being challenged by experts in more than one country; with five million unemployed workers and their dependents to keep alive—the lower grades of the "dole" do not rise above the subsistence level; with no colonies to relieve her of her surplus population, and faced like everybody else with a world economic crisis, she is driven to impose more and more taxes on her already overburdened people, and to strain her already over-strained credit by raising more and more loans. There is scarcely a town in industrial Germany today that is not living in constant fear of being made bankrupt by the calling in of the short term loans that have enabled it to maintain a semblance of solvency. After traveling from one to another of these towns, for however short a time, one ceases to be surprised at paying a drink tax even on a cup of coffee, or at finding it is rarely coffee when it comes, and is as pale as a dyspeptic's cup of China tea.

Even from the material standpoint, then, Germany's condition calls for special attention, because in her case the world crisis has been sprung upon a people already depleted of many resources, and possessed of few reserves with which to meet it. Our own distressed areas, bad as they are, do not, I feel, offer quite a parallel case, both for this reason, and also because the general financial condition of England is not represented, as it is in Germany, by her black spots. But it is not on the material side that I see the most vivid signs of contrast between the Germany of today and the Germany of 1923, when I was last there. Indeed, in some respects the outward signs of poverty and want were much more obvious in those dreadful months, when the inflation of the currency coincided with the French occupation of the Ruhr and the Separatist movement in the Rhineland; though

I was told, on making this remark recently when I revisited some of the same towns, that the proper comparison to make would be with the conditions of two years ago when prosperity seemed to be returning. "The deterioration in the children is now again rapid," said the headmistress of one school I had seen before; and others elsewhere, equally qualified to speak, told me of the reappearance of rickets, while even the more optimistic prophesied that unless things began soon to improve they would be, within the year, "back again in the worst post-war period."

FOR all that, the change in the mentality of Germany is much more striking today than any sign of her material distress. Few traces are left of that body of pacifist and international opinion that made passive resistance possible in the Ruhr in 1923, and, when every incentive was being offered to warlike sentiments, caused a speaker, at one public meeting I attended in Saxony, to be howled down and hustled off the platform because he referred to France as a "traditional enemy." In contrast to this, an avowed pacifist admitted sadly in my hearing not long ago, that, if a foreign army again invaded Germany, "I am afraid we should fight; we cannot endure more." Another deplored the fact that ninety per cent of Germany's youth are now warlike, and for worse reasons than before the war, because then this feeling was founded on mere emotion, while now it springs from hunger and spiritual disillusionment.

An insurance agent, whose business it is to interview many small employers of labor in the course of examining their workers' claims for sickness benefit, declared, "It is impossible to paint too blackly the spiritual state of Germany today," and he drew a distressing picture of the state of bitter resentment that is driving people of this "blackcoated" class into the Nazi movement. It is true that in their case they definitely believe that a standing army would mean more employment and better trade; but behind this commercial reason for their militarism is a desire to revenge themselves by force on those other nations that they believe to have abandoned them to their fate and cut them off from fellowship with the rest of the civilized world. A business man who travels all over West Germany and sees some fifteen to twenty retailers a day, corroborated this, and spoke of a mock election organized in a Rhineland town, among small traders and shop-keepers, at which eighty-one per cent voted for Hitler; and one must remember that a vote cast for Hitler, whatever the inconsist-

encies of his social program, is a vote cast for restoring Germany to her place as an equal among armed nations, able, like them, to fight for her rights.

It was from this latter informant that I learned of the increase in suicide, the average for the last six months being forty-five a day over the whole of Germany, which may be compared with the last available figures for a whole year—1928—when the total was 14,670, an average of about forty a day. And since my return I learn the significant fact that by the will of a recent German, who thus took his life, a sum of money is left to be used in saving others from the despair that led to his own action. It should, however, be mentioned here that unemployment undoubtedly causes exceptional suffering in a country where work in itself counts for so much in the make-up of the ordinary person. From different people I heard of the deteriorating effects, shown in immorality and crime, as well as in general irritability following upon continued unemployment, especially in the case of the man in the home and of adolescents who found no work awaiting them when they left school at fourteen, or completed their apprenticeship at eighteen, or finished their University course. . . .



Kladderdatsch (Berlin)
Germany, bowing under the burden of the Young Plan,
portrayed as the Modern Atlas.

THE repercussions of all this unrest and despair may be detected in many directions. The children, said more than one teacher to me, are growing too nervous and irritable to be taught. The head of a welfare department in Berlin told me that, in her many daily interviews with parents, she never knew when they might not suddenly fly out at her and become violent. . . .

On the surface things might, and generally did appear normal; but a trifle could disturb this calm. Such a change came over the polite hotel manager who was talking to me in a provincial town when a band of young Nazis went marching by, singing one of their anti-Semitic hymns of hate. He suddenly held out his clenched fist and said bitterly, "This fist represents the youth of Germany today; it is no use talking to them of peace; it is better to preach that in the countries which have made them like this"—a sentiment from which no pacifist could dissent. On another occasion the head of an unemployment department in an industrial centre was giving me some statistics; I asked him about the general situation in Germany, and he was transformed at once from the official into the human being filled with apprehension and with little hope left. Taking out his watch, he said, pointing to it, "At twelve o'clock Germany goes under; it is now two minutes to twelve; we have just two minutes in which to save Germany."

I CAME away from Germany at the end of March, haunted by the thought of those two minutes. I had talked to many sorts of people—rich bankers, men of business, small traders, officials, trade unionists, social workers, professors, students, Ministers of State, writers, artists, ordinary men and women in the home—and I was left with the impression of a people who had been asked to bear too much. Laboring under a pent-up sense of injustice at having been made to assume the sole guilt for the war, they are by so much spiritual force the less capable of grappling with the penalties imposed upon them by a treaty based on that assumption. In addition, here as elsewhere, a whole new generation has grown up that repudiates all responsibility for the war and its consequence. These and other elements combine to form a real threat to the future peace of the world. No solution of Germany's problem can, of course, be reached without due consideration of its material aspect; but we cannot begin to understand her, much less give her any help worth having, unless we look beneath her physical discontent for that soul-sickness which breeds war as surely as any piling up of armaments, and for which we are all responsible if we believe nations, like people, are members one of another.

We have only two minutes, it is true. But we have two minutes.—(*Reprinted from The Friend, April 24th, 1931.*)

Findings

"Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it."—Emerson.

The Crime of Wealth

No criminal ever has had to disguise himself from the outside world more completely than has the man of wealth in Russia.—*Maurice Hindus, Humanity Uprooted, p. 72.*

Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean

"We have only 6 per cent of the world's population," says the *Detroit Free Press*, "yet we produce 40 per cent of the world's coal, 70 per cent of its oil, 54 per cent of its copper, 55 per cent of its cotton, 52 per cent of its lumber, and 58 per cent of its paper." Yeah! And 70 per cent of its burglaries, 75 per cent of its murders, and 100 per cent of its lynchings!—*John Haynes Holmes in Unity, March 16, 1931.*

How to Avert Revolution

The unfavorable history of the British plan [compulsory state insurance] since the war has caused little loss of faith in the principle of unemployment insurance. But for its operation, mostly as it has been, national distress, perhaps leading to revolution, would have been inescapable in the face of prolonged depression and chronic unemployment.—*The Business Week, June 3, 1931.*

Contempt and Scorn

Jesus went on, speaking as a man speaks of things long thought over, "If a man would be a Deliverer he must be ready to undergo much pain and to suffer. He will be rejected by his own generation. The councillors and the priests and the teachers will not listen to him. He will be spat on and despised; he will have contempt and scorn for his portion and, at the last, it may be he will lose his life."—*By an Unknown Disciple, p. 107.*

Common Sense

Because of the insufficiency of relief in the present situation, and its inadequacy for any permanent solution of the problem of unemployment, I have come to believe that state insurance is inevitable. . . . Industry cannot be persuaded to do voluntarily what it inevitably will be compelled to do—set aside unemployment reserves in times of prosperity for times of adversity.—*Edward A. Filene, American Labor Legislation Review, June 1931.*

Protection by the Marines

The astonishing thing about the marine method of property protection, however, is its inefficiency. In Nicaragua, for example, although marines were landed in 1926 as soon as danger threatened, although the force was increased to more than 5,000 and warships patrolled the coasts, although several millions of American taxpayers' dollars were spent to protect American investments estimated at from five to thirty million dollars, nevertheless American property suffered serious damage. Indeed the record of appeals to the State Department seems to indicate that the damage to property became more serious after our intervention began.—*Jones, Norton, Moon, The United States and the Caribbean, p. 188.*

War as a Pruning Hook

Man's dream of a world without war can never come true. . . . Nature keeps her human orchard healthy by pruning, and war is her pruning hook. We cannot dispense with her services.—*Sir Arthur Keith, in an address at Aberdeen University, Scotland.*

Our European Serfs

As the world slips into the new year, we have all become—every one of us—the owners of hundreds of millions of able-bodied serfs. We have a mortgage on the lives of both the living and the unborn in practically every nation of Europe except Russia. We shall have, if not gold pouring in, then its equivalent in merchandise. Each one of us can hope to have more to spend.—*New York Journal of Commerce and Finance, January, 1925.*

Reserves for the Worker

Every capable man and woman is entitled to work at good wages with assurance of continuity of employment and with further assurance that when old age and sickness come, he or she will not be thrown on the tender mercies of charity. We have learned in business to set aside dividend reserves for hard times; I believe that we must also set aside reserves to carry the worker through periods of depression.—*Henry I. Harriman, President, Boston Chamber of Commerce.*

Birds of a Feather

Besides lunatics and criminals, the Soviet Constitution disfranchises and bars from public office the following categories of persons: people who employ hired labor for the purpose of extracting gain; persons living on income not derived from toil, such as interest on capital, income from enterprises, earnings from property, etc.; private merchants, trade and commercial middlemen; monks and ministers of religious cults of all creeds and characters, for whom this occupation is a profession; employees and agents of the former police, the special corps of gendarmes and secret police departments, members of the former reigning family, and also persons who directed the activity of the police, gendarmes, and punitive organs.—*William Henry Chamberlin, Soviet Russia, p. 108.*

Paging President Hoover

When it is said, Mr. President, that wages have been stabilized in the industry—they have not. We are living in a fool's paradise if we think that every steel manufacturer in the United States has maintained what is generally known as the current rates of wages; it has not been done. . . . I am not going to mention names of all of the companies in this room that have cut wages; I do not want to embarrass them; but I think it is a pretty cheap sort of a business when the largest industries in the country are trying to maintain a stable rate of wages, for men who are working three days a week, and then cut that three days a week another 10 per cent.—*From an address by James A. Farrell, president of the United States Steel Corporation, before the American Iron and Steel Institute.*

The Book End

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes, after critical evaluation, to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

Not So Loud, Gentlemen!

Behold America. A symposium edited by Samuel D. Schmalhausen. Farrar and Rinehart. \$5.00.

THIS business of publishing symposia is becoming a racket. Here is a volume in which some of the leaders of American thought and some who are only top sergeants make an analysis of our civilization. There is no evidence of collaboration. Many of the essays are very much worthwhile, but there is no earthly reason why these contributions, all of which might have been published in magazines, should be put together in a book and the book sold for five dollars. The only unity in the collection is achieved by the fact that most of the writers view the contemporary scene from the perspective of economic radicalism. Yet Henry Seidel Canby and Gorham B. Munson, both of whose papers are excellent, seem to have been chosen for some reason other than their economic views. Ernest Gruening contributes an informative article on the American press; John Haynes Holmes writes with his usual vigor on the religious problem in America; John T. Flynn analyzes the evil influences of Wall Street; Robert Dunn traces the history of American imperialism; and Rodger Baldwin reveals the hypocrisies of "law and order."

All these as well as other essays are enlightening and helpful to the student of our civilization. What offends the sympathetic reader is the strident note and the frequent puerilities of some of the contributors. One of them finds it necessary to place the "obscurantism" of Professor Whitehead in the same category with the fee-splitting of commercial doctors as an evidence of the low state of our professional life. Another thinks that sympathy for the views of Irving Babbitt or T. S. Elliot is one of the types of treason which intellectuals commit.

Perhaps the worst offender in the matter of stridency is the editor himself. In his introduction he writes: "Is it not high time we paused to take inventory once more of this land of promise—'God's own country'? There are deep wrongs to be righted, fierce inequalities to be uprooted, shameful injustices to be rectified, before America dare hold its proud head up again among the nations of the world, loved and honored as in memorable days gone by." This represents the quality of thought usually found in a Fourth of July speech. It is merely an inversion of it. In his closing essay the editor expresses his disapproval of a sentiment by Mr. Coolidge with the elegant words: "To which the complete rejoinder is: Tommyrot, tommyrot, where are you going?" That may be a complete rejoinder for a street brawl, but in the pages of a book it is complete only in its ineptness.

There is a place for the note of urgency when we deal with the problems of America, but a volume which pretends to make a careful analysis of the limitations of American life ought to reflect some degree of urbanity. Its criticisms would be more telling for it. There is a kind of infantilism in the animus against American

life which about a third of the essays of this book reveal. Certainly America is uncouth, vulgar, unequal to the task which world conditions have thrust upon it, and politically too ignorant to gauge its own strength and weaknesses. But all these facts have historical roots, and the wise social analyst who tries to chart a course for us will not spend much time working up a rage. Instead he will ask the question: Just what instruments—political, educational, economic, and moral—will best serve the purpose of putting this awkward and gangling youth of a nation in control of all its faculties? He may decide that satire is one of the weapons which must be used to make the nation aware of its limitations; he may also indulge in moral indignation. But fustian is hardly a serviceable weapon. It is just as unattractive in its negative as in its affirmative variety.

R. N.

How It Looks to a Russian

Red Bread. By Maurice Hindus. New York. Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. \$3.50.

"IN our Soviet Union, citizen, we have deposited the word riches (meaning personal riches) in the archives." Thus spoke a bare-footed peasant boy to Mr. Hindus in the summer of 1930 when the villages of Russia were passing through the throes of collectivization. Was this boy merely repeating a lesson well learned, or was he giving authentic expression to a revolutionary force destined to overthrow the institution of private property in a vast country and to build a new social order on the basis of the common ownership of land, natural resources, and the tools of production? Upon the answer to this question may well hang the fate of nations.

Mr. Hindus, of course, is too wise a student of history to assume the rôle of prophet. He does, however, present a body of evidence bearing on this question from which the reader may draw his own conclusions. He reports the course of the revolutionary movement as it again sweeps through the village in which he was born and about which he has written so delightfully in *Broken Earth*. By following the fortunes of the principal actors in the drama—communists, poor peasants, middle peasants, kulaks, landlords, priests, and persons of both sexes and all ages, many of whom he had known as a boy—he portrays with an impartial pen the whole range of human passions aroused by the effort on the part of the Soviet government to destroy the individualistic tradition of the past. He lays bare the souls of men and women as they behold the relentless march of the *kolhoz* (collective farm) across the plains of Russia, overturning ancient institutions and reversing many of the accepted notions of right and wrong. His method is that of reporting in detail the conversation of peasants and workers. This gives to the account a quality which is lacking in practically all other books about Russia, and makes it possible for us to feel the power and the drive of the revolutionary movement.

And anyone who has not felt this power and drive, even though he may know all the statistics of the Five-Year Plan and be familiar with every detail in the Soviet social structure, will remain incapable of really understanding the course of events in Russia.

GEORGE S. COUNTS

An American Saint Francis

The Tinker. By Fred Eastman. Century Co. Price 75 cents.

THE author confesses in his preface that the idea of this play came to him from a study of the career of St. Francis of Assisi. He tried to imagine what a life like that of Francis would mean in the setting of our contemporary American world. He gives us the results of his thinking in a plot which portrays the struggle of a New England family with respectable traditions and a modest income to "keep up with the Joneses." The insistence of every member upon living up to the American standard of living which he finds current among his associates strains the happiness and contentment of the family to the breaking point. The way out is suggested by a workman who helps the various members of the family to find an adjustment mainly by the development of interest in the "intangibles" in substitution for the insatiable craving for things which must be bought.

We all turn wistfully at times to the Franciscan ideal. The difficulty is that we hardly know what the Franciscan way of life would mean under the conditions of our scientific and industrial culture. For in our modern interdependent and interwoven society vital Franciscanism is likely to be conceived in terms of the mastery of the materials of existence rather than in those of escape from the age. The implications of this play are to the effect that with all the processes of social control which may be instituted in our common life, the Franciscan career will remain an achievement of individuals and of the nature of art rather than a collective achievement and of the nature of science. No matter how great the collective achievement for the Franciscan, still "leagues beyond those leagues" there will be more sea. There is a philosophy in the background of *The Tinker* but the play is wrought out as a lovely thing.

JUSTIN W. NIXON

The Negro as Laborer

The Negro Wage Earner. By Lorenzo J. Greene and Carter G. Woodson. The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc. \$3.25.

FROM this exhaustive statistical survey one abstracts such sequences in the development of the Negro wage earner as the following: Occupationally the antebellum Negro was better off in the South than in the North where some states required him to produce certificates of emancipation. During reconstruction years the economic existence of Negro workers continued precarious in the North while in the South they developed as tenant farmers though suffering disadvantages in the trades. In 1890 when seven of every eight Negroes were either field workers or servants, there began a movement from the farm to common labor in transportation, manufacturing and domestic service.

Since the World War this migration has been accelerated through industry's incessant tapping of this available and willing labor reserve. Though there was a decline of Negroes in domestic and personal service due to poor pay, long hours, social stigma, and white encroachment, the decade ending 1920 shows that the number in industry and manufacturing has doubled.

The authors record as significant three other trends since 1890: "the tendency of Negroes to constitute a greater percentage of all persons gainfully occupied than of the total population; the tendency to maintain a higher proportion of persons gainfully employed within their group than any other large element of the population; the participation relatively of a greater number of Negro females in occupations than the females of any other group in the population."

Running through the volume with discordant persistence is a refrain of discrimination against the black worker by white labor unions. "The American labor movement has made no serious attempt to unionize black workers" who are "one-fifth as thoroughly organized as the whites." Recognition of Negro labor on the part of unions has been compelled by competitive labor relations, usually when employers have brought up the black reserves as shock troops during strikes. Discrimination within the union and unequal wages and work opportunities continue, however, to keep the Negro workers "outside the pale of organized labor."

Had the authors taken the second half of their aim, namely, "Interpreting the data herein set forth" as seriously as they undertook their fact-gathering job, they would have related this spotted treatment of the Negro worker to the problem of unorganized labor generally in a competitive-profit system where organizations of labor like organizations of capital tend to build their own special private utopias.

But the black and white worker are in the same boat pulling up stream against the same current. One cannot throw the other out for good. To drop into the figure of a popular song, "Shut the doors, they're coming through the windows; shut the windows, they're coming through the doors."

WALTER LUDWIG

C. O.'s in the Civil War

Conscientious Objectors in the Civil War. By Edward Needles Wright. University of Pennsylvania Press. \$3.00.

NO war resister, and no student of either the history of pacifism or the Civil War, can afford to miss this admirable study. It is based on thorough research, and the results are interpreted with both objectivity and insight. Dr. Wright shows how non-combatant sects in both North and South finally won, as the result of persistent efforts, qualified political recognition; how these sects, and especially the Society of Friends, reacted to the war and to the draft consistently, for the most part, to their creed; and what attitude political and military authorities as well as civilians took towards conscientious objectors.

The most suggestive part of the book, in many ways, is the final chapter in which Dr. Wright compares conscientious objection in the Civil War with conscientious objection in the World War. It is important to note that the whole problem of conscientious objection was, proportionately considered, less acute in the World War than in the Civil War. In the World War there was greater unity of action on the part of the non-combatant sects than there had been in the war between the States. While in that struggle it was possible for conscientious objectors to pay money in lieu of personal service, the Selective Service Act of 1917 made no such provision. In both wars the highest authorities, military and civil, maintained for the most part a fairly sympathetic and generous attitude; in both wars, and particularly in the South during the Civil War, objectors frequently suffered greatly at the hands of officers of the lower ranks, privates, and civilians. In both wars treatment of conscientious objectors varied according to the circum-

stances. Dr. Wright believes that too often the objector has taken his stand against conscription only after war was a grim reality, and that, being a protestant against a military system which the majority has accepted, or at least tolerated, he has struggled against tremendous forces. But in so doing, he has "learned to think, and to act, independently." And he has, "in objecting to a system which he could not condone, become a projector of his own ideas regarding the stupidity of war."

MERLE CURTI

An American Views China

China: The Collapse of a Civilization. By Nathaniel Peffer. John Day Company. \$2.50.

THIS significant interpretation comes from the pen of an American who is warmly sympathetic with the Chinese and who is highly critical of the Western powers. The manuscript was prepared a year ago when China was in the grip of civil war and was plunged into the deepest gloom. The author is more pessimistic than many other observers think is warranted by recent trends in that country.

The chaos in China, in Mr. Peffer's opinion, is produced by the breakdown of the sanctions of one social system and the failure thus far to establish adequate sanctions for a new social system. The China that was is interpreted in an illuminating manner; then the forces of disintegration are described—the impact of the West, the rise of industrialism, the growth of the scientific spirit, the spread of foreign cultures, the exploitation by Japan and the Western powers, the collapse of the Manchu dynasty, the unpreparedness for democratic government, the devastation of civil war, the ravages of banditry and piracy, the development of nationalism, the explosiveness of communism, the disillusionment and despair of the intellectuals.

Not only is the old order shattered beyond repair, but scepticism concerning Western civilization is widespread. The prestige of the white race has been destroyed. Opposition to outside domination is so intense that foreign restraints and control are doomed. As Mr. Peffer phrases it: "To expect to 'straighten out' China or 'set its house in order' from without is as attempting to play traffic policeman to an earthquake."

K. P.

The Class War

Dynamite. The Story of Class Violence in America. By Louis Adamic. Viking. \$3.50.

THE class war in America has a long and bloody history. "Capital has the courts always, to say nothing of its gunmen, police, and soldiery." Labor fights back with strikes, sabotage, racketeers, and dynamite. There have been many casualties, mostly on the side of labor, among which must be counted not only the victims of police and militia, but also such "legal" casualties as Sacco and Vanzetti, the Centralia radicals, and Mooney and Billings.

Labor is, of course, in a precarious position. It has nothing to lose but jobs, and these are becoming ever more scarce. Capital finds the labor market glutted and loses all consideration for labor. The reactionary A. F. of L. curries favor with the bosses or specializes in Red-baiting (Matthew Woll). If there is no middle way between this helpless senility and the violence of Communists and I. W. W.'s, Adamic is probably right in contending that the return to better times will again bring more dynamite.

It seems a hopeless muddle with wrong on both sides, a senseless fighting of the devil with fire. The real way out is the abolition of the kind of exploitative society we now live in, together with the parasites that live on it. But this apparently is mere utopian twaddle to most leaders of the labor movement.

H. C. ENGELBRECHT

The "Gloomy" Dean

Christian Ethics and Modern Problems. By William Randolph Inge. Putnam. \$5.00.

DEAN INGE has given us so many potboilers in recent years that one is inclined to dismiss a new book by him as not worth reading. His most recent volume, however, fails to justify the indifference and apprehension with which the cautious reader may have dipped into it. *Christian Ethics and Modern Problems* is a good book, at least in the sense that sound scholarship and earnest thought have gone into its pages. On social and economic questions the Dean is still the same unrepentant tory who saves his conservatism whenever the Gospel ethic comes dangerously close to his cherished conservative convictions by the easy device of warning against a too intimate relationship between the institution of religion and any particular political party. Nevertheless he has a difficult time escaping the logic that the Christian ethic demands a reorganization of society and the abolition of its economic injustice. He is definitely more alive to the social and economic situation of our day than he has been willing heretofore to confess.

The real merit of the book, however, lies in his discussion of the family, birth control, divorce, and population. Here he speaks with great conviction and passion and offers the counsel of a well-informed and enlightened intelligence. On the war problem he shows a more critical attitude toward the usual efforts to justify war in ethical terms than he has revealed before, but he ends without coming to any definite conclusions in regard to the matter. The fact is that his weighing of this particular problem is typical of the spirit which informs the whole book. It is the spirit of a man in which the genius of a prophet does battle with the Platonic philosopher and the shrewd statesman and is finally worsted by these two formidable adversaries, though not before it has offered some real opposition and inflicted several palpable hits.

R. N.

The Shame of Our Cities

Richard Croker. By Lothrop Stoddard. Longmans. \$3.50.
Boss Tweed. By Denis Tilden Lynch. Blue Ribbon Books. \$1.00.

INVESTIGATIONS into the corruption of government are now in process in about a dozen American cities. The revelations from New York have caused consternation and wonder throughout the country, though New York's Tammany mayor is only "more or less shocked." A little study of how his cities are governed will repay Mr. Average Man, and these two books are cheerfully recommended as an elementary course. They deal with two bosses of Tammany, their philosophy of loot, their methods of spoliation, and the machine behind them. Lynch's work was first published in 1927 but now appears in the excellent Blue Ribbon Books.

The reader in Course A will soon discover that cities are not governed according to the beautiful theories of municipal government textbooks. The people vote, but the votes are counted by the powers behind the scenes. After that the political machine of the

party in control pulls the wires so that the puppets in office do what they are told. Croker of Tammany practiced this openly and dispensed the "spoils" in place of the mayor. The results of such a system are apparent, as the recurrent investigations disclose.

The cure for this "shame of our cities" is not "reform administrations." "Turning the rascals out" has little permanent effect. Nor will it do to put on blinders and to declare faith in "the average honesty of the average office holder." The only remedy is the extermination of the "machine." The city manager plan is an excellent device, but even then it is easily possible that the Tammany Halls in the various cities gain control. The conspicuous failure of our municipal governments is merely part and parcel of the fundamental philosophy of exploitation of capitalism. No political machine could live without loot. Honest officials and efficient governmental methods are merely stop-gaps. The Tammanies throughout the country will probably in time learn to be less greedy and to refine their plunderings. But until exploitation ceases to be the dominant political and economic philosophy of our people, there will be nothing new on the municipal front.

H. C. ENGELBRECHT

WE RECOMMEND

The Soviet Challenge to America. By George S. Counts. John Day Co. \$4.00. This is one of the fairest and most illuminating volumes on Russia yet to appear. Primary emphasis is placed upon corporate planning for a new society. The book is at the same time authoritative and fascinating.

Religious Thought in Palestine in the Time of Christ. By T. Herbert Bindley. Methuen & Co., London, 8 shillings. An interesting account of some of the primary influences to which Jesus was subjected.

Public Ownership Here and Abroad, by Harry Laidler. (Pamphlet.) League for Industrial Democracy. 15 cents. The brilliant Socialist economist has turned out a characteristically reliable piece of work, outlining what has happened in public ownership since pre-war days. To many skeptics it will be an eye-opener if not a shock-producer.

The War-Method and the Peace-Method. By William I. Hull. Revell. 364 pages. \$2.50. A valuable record of how, in the various national histories and international relations, the struggle has been continuous between the two ways of war and peace. Dr. Hull's pacifism is well known and he brings behind it here his tremendous background of historic insight.

As I Saw It. By Alden Brooks. Alfred A. Knopf. 299 pages. \$3.50. A straightforward but nevertheless vivid story of the World War as it was seen by an American artillery officer. This book has the special merit of not making any attempt to debunk war, but achieves that end neatly enough by the simplicity with which it describes official stupidity and vainglory. The effect of the story, socially considered, is somewhat spoiled by its almost fatalistic helplessness; the rot inculcated in the heads of fighters is still evident in their essentially non-understanding outlook on war as an institution. Contrary to general comment, those who have fought in war usually know least about war, however much they understand combat.

Prophets of the New India. By Romain Rolland. A. & C. Boni. 683 pages. \$5.00. A translation from the French of Rolland's study in Indian religion. He deals chiefly with Ramakrishna and Vivekananda.

The United States of Europe. By Eduard Herriot. The Viking Press, \$3.50. A comprehensive statement of the problem and the historic approaches to a solution. An excellent background for an understanding of current European politics.

Christian Education, A Handbook for 1931. Published by the Council of Church Board of Education, New York City. \$1.00. Facts, figures and personalities: the story of the education activities of religious bodies in the United States.

Volume Two. By Katherine Mayo. Harcourt, Brace & Co. \$2.00. The author of *Mother India* continues her bitter indictment of child marriage. Much of the present volume consists of citations from the Report of the Age of Consent Committee. The treatment is so biased that the reader would never guess, for example, that Mahatma Gandhi is utterly opposed to child marriage.

The Saviors of Mankind. By W. R. Van Buskirk. Macmillan. 536 pages. \$3.00. A sympathetic, thoughtful, and mighty readable study of the lives of great founders of the world's religions as leaders of a spiritual revolt against the retrogressive tendencies of their respective environments. No effort is made to assess the relative merits of the religions or prophets; religion is looked at essentially in its universals.

Income and Wages in the South. By Clarence Heer. University of North Carolina Press. \$1.00. An admirable summary of the evidence. Income tax returns are filed by only one-third as large a proportion of the people in ten southern states as in the average rest of the country. After considering the data relative to both urban and rural earnings, the author concludes with a section entitled: Why Southern Incomes Are Low.

Desertion During the Civil War. By Ella Lonn. Century. 251 pages. \$3.00. A sound historical study, revealing that men from the ranks of the Northern and Southern armies literally deserted or surrendered in droves. What becomes of the dogma that wars are necessary because human nature is so pugnacious that a little blood-letting now and then is inevitable? Don't overlook the data in this remarkable volume. Dr. Lonn is Professor of History at Goucher College and the book is brought out for the American Historical Association, which, as these things go, ought to attest to its reliability.

Western Samoa—Imprisonment, Deportation, and Shooting. By H. Runham Brown in collaboration with Alfred Page, and containing an introduction by A. Fenner Brockway, M.P. War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, England. Twopence. (Pamphlet.) Too little has been heard in the United States of the cruelties of New Zealand's military despotism in the South Seas. This story is well based on first-hand knowledge and trustworthy reports; and, incidentally, there is in the attitude of the Samoan people an interesting application of non-violent resistance.

Tacna and Arica. By William Jefferson Dennis. Yale University Press. 332 pages. \$4.00. Tacna and Arica is that area rich in nitrate deposits over which Peru and Chile have been at odds for so long a time. This book presents a full history of the controversy and its settlement.

The World Crisis. By Winston Churchill. Scribner's. 866 pages. \$5.00. Churchill is certainly one of the most interesting memoir writers of the World War. His four-volume record of 1911-1918 is here gathered into one without abridgments. The fifth volume bringing the story down to 1928, is not included.

A History of Socialism. By S. F. Markham. Macmillan. 328 pages. \$2.75. This volume purposes to supplant Kirkup's well-known book, hopelessly out of date since the war and the Russian revolution. It is a worthy successor, particularly in its fairness to Russia.

The Growth of International Thought. By F. Melian Stawell. Holt. 248 pages. \$1.25. This little volume, one of the series entitled the Home University Library of Modern Knowledge, is a concise handbook of the thinkers who have formulated peace ideas from ancient Hellenic down to modern times. By following the customary European emphases and neglecting our own American peace seers, if one may say so, the work is rendered less valuable than it might have been. Yet it is a helpful reference companion.

The Negroes of Africa. By Maurice Delafosse. Translated from the French by F. Fligelman. Associated Publishers. Washington, D. C. 313 pp. \$3.15. To anyone in search of solid facts about the Negro, this book is a gold mine of information. The chapters dealing with social institutions, religious beliefs and practices, morality, art and literature are particularly illuminating. In his chapter on Evaluations, Delafosse contends that the so-called retardation of the Negroes is due to their geographical isolation. The book is a caution against the common practice of measuring everything by a Yankee yardstick.

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New York

The X Y Z of Communism. By Ethan T. Colton. Macmillan. \$3.00. A mass of factual and statistical evidence portraying the darker side of life in present-day Russia. Unrelieved gloom pervades the volume.

The General Strike. By Wilfrid H. Crook. University of North Carolina Press. 649 pages. \$6.00. Mr. Crook has painstakingly and successfully unravelled the tangled threads of the actual "general" strikes, historically, and examined the theory of this social weapon also. One of the finest accounts, especially of the British strike of 1926.

CORRESPONDENCE

A Correction

IN a recent issue of THE WORLD TOMORROW reference was made to a symposium held last fall in Washington, D. C., on which occasion Clarence Darrow was one of the speakers while the other speakers were representatives of Judaism and of Christianity. Attempts had been made to segregate the colored purchasers of admission tickets. The statement alleged that these attempts were thwarted only by the courage and the effort of Mr. Darrow, the other participants ignoring the interests of the colored people entirely. I have had before me communications from Mr. Darrow himself as well as from Mr. George G. Whitehead, director of the symposium, both of whom give the major share of the credit for securing the abandonment of the segregation provisions to the Jewish participant, Rabbi Abram Simon Cincinnati, Ohio

ABRAHAM CRONBACH

Seventy-five Per Cent Agreement

ENCLOSED please find my check for three dollars in payment for THE WORLD TOMORROW for two more years. I enjoy your magazine very much and get a great deal of valuable material from it. I am with you in your fight against war and industrial injustice as well as racial prejudice. I do wish that you might take a little stronger stand against the liquor business. Also note a tendency toward cynicism in some of the articles. However, I do not expect perfection. Neither do I expect you to agree with me in everything. If I did there would be no use in taking the paper.

New York City

PRESTON W. PENNELL

Not a Draft Dodger

THE Attorney General of Wisconsin recently gave a decision that, when I refused to register for the draft in 1917 and conspired with others to defraud the Government of enforcing the draft law, I did not lose my citizenship and civil rights. The request for this decision came from the Milwaukee Civil Service Commission. The latter desired to know if the above crime would prevent me from holding a position under the Civil Service Law.

The decision was based upon the fact that I had not evaded the draft, but had been within the judicial district in which I lived on the day of the draft. The law was against the draft evader, not the draft objector. Conspiracy with others against the draft was held to be a misdemeanor and not a felony because disobedience to both the draft law and the Volstead Act were held to be disobedience to laws passed since the making of the Constitution.

and not part of the common or organic law of the land. It was also held that disobedience to such laws did not carry with it a forfeiture of civil rights unless this forfeiture was especially cited when the law was passed.

The Milwaukee capitalistic papers in commenting upon this decision had headlines reading "Draft Dodger Held Eligible" when, as a matter of fact, if I had been a draft dodger I would have lost my civil rights.

Waukesha, Wis.

AMMON A. HENNACY

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Student Conference

THE International Student Service announces its tenth annual conference to be held at Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Massachusetts, August 31 to September 9, 1931. Among the subjects to be discussed are: The University in the Changing World; An Analysis of American Civilization; American and European Conceptions of the University; The Intellectual in the Changing Social and Economic Order; and The University Life of Latin America. Details regarding speakers, rates, etc., may be obtained from Margaret Quayle, Secretary for the American Committee, 140 Nassau Street, New York City.

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The Last Page

MORE Americans abroad, one can readily believe, are guyed than guided. When mists (as they usually do) surround Mt. Blanc and it is invisible, thus disappointing the American sightseers who are bitterly resentful at fate for sending them home without even a glimpse of the famous and beautiful peak, some of the guides around Geneva have developed an anodyne for this despair and disillusionment. The good old Mole almost invariably looms up in well-behaved fashion; it is certainly not without beauty, and, after all, what one doesn't know doesn't (always) hurt one. Thus the philosophical and obliging guides have learned that it is wise to send the traveller away contented; their motto is, We Strive to Please. And nobody, truth to tell, loses thereby; because, quite apart from generous tips, the guides can have their little chuckle over what, among themselves has become known as "the American Mt. Blanc."

* * *

EQUALLY, the mists of doubt and failure oft surround the League of Nations in the selfsame city. And yet, that is merely a small part of the story. Many of the League's bitterest critics have gone away from a visit to the *Palais* quite converted. In fact, there was one American woman, it is said, who made herself something of a problem for the troubled Genève. She wandered about hopefully from office to office, from bureau to bureau, trying to learn how she, personally, could join the League.

* * *

AND while we are on this subject of Americans abroad, we must not fail to mention the American business man and his wife who made a hurried visit to the Louvre. As things just happened, they found themselves faced with the problem of leaving in an hour to make their boat train. "Archibaldus," said the wife, or words to that effect, "we can't possibly see it all in one short hour, but if we don't, how will we ever face our friends at home, and how can you tell about it at the Rotary Club?" "Nabisca," answered her resourceful spouse, in the true spirit of hustle, "you go to the left as fast as you can, and I'll hurry around to the right. We'll meet here as soon as possible. And make it snappy!" Sure enough, in an incredibly short time, arm in arm, the satisfied couple were on their way to the Hotel Continental, that palace of alienism, jubilant because, in spite of everything, they had "seen it all."

* * *

ONE day in Switzerland, Eccentricus felt the need of some serious sociological research, and so he went to his second talking picture in two months. It was a conventional love-story, in German, but when the hero (a comedian) is offered "much money, much money," by a donkey of an American theater manager, to come to the States, our hero replies, in a tone of deadly quiet, "Mr. Brown, we Europeans do not consider that money is everything." At this point Eccentricus started up to wave his hat and give three loud cheers. He was halted, perhaps fortunately, by the scowl of an elderly woman on whose toes he had trodden heavily. Lucky Ecc! But after all, on sober—I mean serious—second thought, it was borne in on this outlander that here was merely the usual portraiture of the foreigner in caricature. And in that, whether at home or abroad, there is nothing subtle or profound.

In fact, as more than one true-blue internationalist American

has told me over on this side, the usual experience abroad is in many ways calculated to make anyone into a one hundred per cent nationalistic Yankee Doodle Dandy. I have found terrible suffering in Germany, indescribable; but I have found women who bewail their hard, hard lot, because the depression has made necessary for the first time in their lives to do some dirty work for themselves, one maid now available where three were always a minimum before. I have read editorials about the crude commercialism of America in British newspapers which cover the front page with advertising matter and start their news on page eleven. I have seen, in cinema films exhibited in Wales, gentle hints about American advertising methods, following which the main picture was turned off, and fifteen minutes was consumed in flashing on the screen tawdry advertisements of local business houses—still the customary thing in foreign picture palaces. I have been reminded quite frankly of America's lack of artistic sensitivity, by Frenchmen who were strolling around lovely historical monuments ruined by displays of cheap souvenirs and long rows of booths from which floated raucous cries to buy this or buy that. I have been told of the cultural values in contacts with Continental ways of life, while being shortchanged (though they never get away with it) variously from twenty centesimi to fifty francs.

But are these experiences typical? No more than my grandfather's Jersey cow, who used regularly to wait for my approach and kick me deliberately in the right knee, was typical of her kind. There are some creatures who have been made that way; but there are hardly of universal significance. And when all is said and done to defend the wayfaring denizen of the U. S. A., it is undeniable that many of his tribe make Europeans sick, and with good reason. It is just therefrom that all over the face of the land, on this side, yarns about gawks and freaks and buy-minded Americans enrich what might be termed our exported folklore. The European is firmly convinced that every time an American opens his purse he puts his foot in it. But it is sometimes true that if the American didn't do this, the other fellow's hand would be as agile.

* * *

THERE is one way in which the English, especially, make hard the lot of the itinerant American. People on the Continent are so used to the English accent—which of course varies less on the Continent than across the Channel because the English who can afford to travel are preponderantly the better-off and more "educated"—that to their ears the American accent seems abnormally strange. And it is a sad fact that impatience over accents causes general impatience not a few times, when the entire human race ought to recognize that nobody speaks any too well, anyhow.

At one time during the Great War, when an old Austrian woman was on her knees praying passionately for a victory of the Austrian army over the attacking Russians, her more skeptical daughter, or perhaps more realistic, asked her, "What's the good of all that?" "I know that God will hear me and give us a splendid victory," replied the confident mother. "Well," insisted the daughter, "don't you think the Russians are praying too, for the same thing?" "What if they do?" came back the old woman, nothing daunted; "Let 'em pray all they like. Who could ever understand 'em if they did?"

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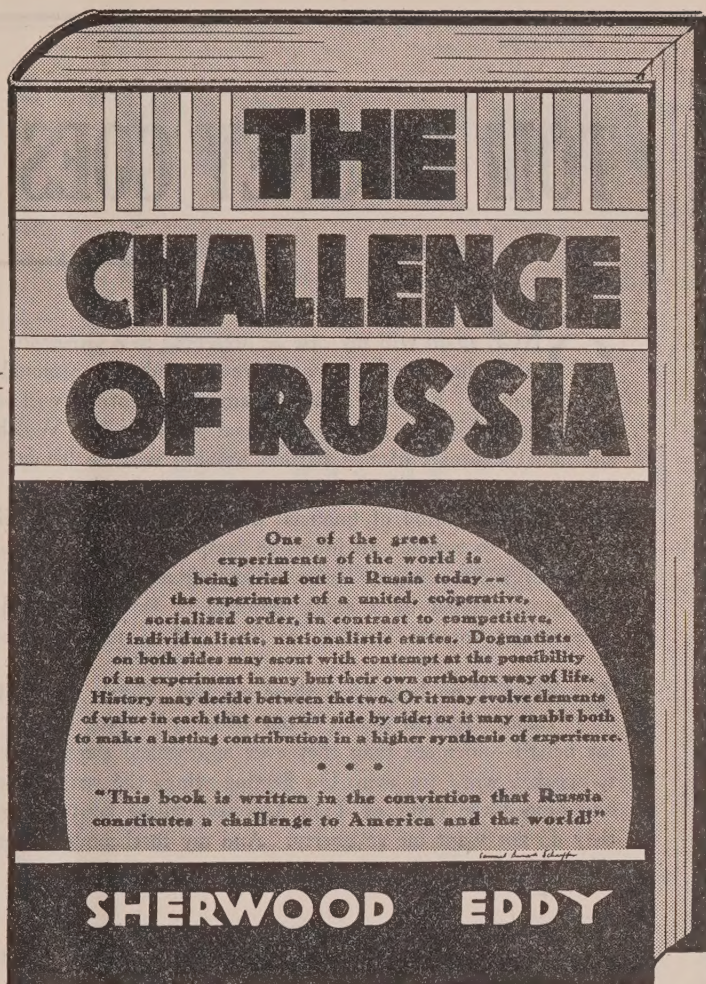
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TOM MOONEY GOES TO THE PEOPLE

ONCE again will my case be presented to a Governor of California—this time with direct admonition that the American people are demanding a removal of the shameful stain upon our national renown. Frank P. Walsh, eminent attorney, will journey from New York and present to Governor Rolph the petition for my unconditional pardon. Mr. Walsh is giving his services without fee; but the many additional expenses of this pardon hearing will be heavy.

THE long period of financial depression has had calamitous effect upon my defense efforts. Without funds to conduct an intensive campaign before and during the pardon hearing, that effort is likely to fail—and right now my Defense Committee lacks funds. Yet means must be found to counteract the apathy manifested by a great majority of the people, and to rally the loyal minority in support of this my latest effort for the freedom so long and so unjustly denied me.

I EXPECT no help from those crooked officials whose fakery is brought to light in my pamphlet—"Labor Leaders Betray Tom Mooney." Not one of them has ever approached Governor Rolph in my behalf—no more than they ever approached the former Governors, Young, Richardson and Stephens, to speak a word for me. On fleeting wings the years have sped for them—long years that grayed the hair and sapped the vigor of Tom Mooney, whose activities in the labor movement they always feared. No, they do not want me at liberty. And my forthcoming pamphlet—"The Case Against Tom Mooney"—will show the reasons why.

IT will cost something to print and distribute the booklet, too. And I want to do that—even more than I want my freedom. For the pamphlet is a complete refutation of all the charges upon which my framed conviction was secured.

BUT my Defense Committee is now without the necessary finances with which to conduct an intensive campaign before and during the hearing upon my petition. And the problem of securing funds has grown ever more acute, throughout the long period of financial depression. The perplexing question now is, how are we to quickly solve that problem?

I KNOW that the great majority of the people are with me, in heart; and that my call has but to reach those hearts, to bring response. Have you read in the May issue of Harper's Magazine, "Our American Dreyfus Case—A Challenge to California Justice"? It is a graphic and illuminating exposé of the hidden processes by which my unjust conviction was brought about. When you have read it, I am sure my Defense Committee will hear from you. And by that "you," I mean every sincere lover of justice and fair play, in all this country; and every true friend of labor, throughout the world.

TOM MOONEY

Send all funds to:

TOM MOONEY MOLDERS' DEFENSE COMMITTEE
P. O. Box A-1475 **San Francisco, Calif.**